

4^o Brit.. 63 5

MEMORIAL

AND REMARKS UPON THE STATE OF THE UNION

IN THE YEAR 1800

BY JAMES MADISON

MEMORIALLS;

OR,

THE MEMORABLE THINGS THAT FELL OUT WITHIN THIS ISLAND
OF BRITTAINE FROM 1638 TO 1684.

MEMORIALS

EDINBURGH :
Printed by James Ballantyne & Co.



News from Scotland, 1591.

MEMORIALLS;

OR,

THE MEMORABLE THINGS

THAT FELL OUT

WITHIN THIS ISLAND OF BRITTAINE FROM 1638 TO 1684.

BY THE

REV. MR ROBERT LAW.

EDITED FROM THE MS.

BY

CHARLES KIRKPATRICK SHARPE, ESQ.

All is hot gaistis, and elrische fantasie,
Of brotongis and of bogillis full this buke.

MAYSTER GAWIN DOUGLAS, *Bishop of Dunkel.*

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO.

1818.

MEMORIALS

OF

THE MEMORABLE THINGS

THAT HATH

BEEN THIS YEAR OF WHITTAKER FROM HIS OWN

BY THE

REV. DR. ROBERT L. LEE

EDITED FROM THE MS.

CHARLES KIMBROUGH, PH.D.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

It is the purpose of this series to

publish the works of the great

men of the past in their

ORIGINAL

PRINTED FOR ARTHUR COXETER AND CO.

1894

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

FRANCIS WEMYSS CHARTERIS,

EARL OF WEMYSS AND MARCH, VISCOUNT OF PEEBLES,

LORD WEMYSS, ELCHO, METHEL,

AND DOUGLAS OF NIEDPATH, LYNE, AND MUNARD,

THIS VOLUME

IS MOST GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE EDITOR.

FRANCIS WEMYSS CHARTERS

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

FRANCIS WEMYSS CHARTERS

EARL OF WEMYSS AND MARCHE, VISCOUNT OF PETERHEAD

LORD WEMYSS, KILCHO, MIDDLE

AND DOUGLAS OF KILDEAR, CLACKMANNAN AND HUNTER

THIS VOLUME

IS MOST GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE EDITOR

PREFATORY NOTICE.

MR ROBERT LAW, the author of these Memorials, was the son of Mr Thomas Law, minister of the gospel at Inchinnan, in Renfrewshire. This we learn from the *Abbreviatio Inquisitionum*, &c. in which is the retour of Mr Robert Law, minister at the kirk of Kirkpatrick, heir of Mr Thomas Law, minister of Inchinnan, his father, in the superioritie of the 40 shilling land of old extent of Balarnok, within the regaltie of Glasgow, and two tenements in Drygate, in the citie of Glasgow, 4th February, 1657.

In the same list there is a retour of Mr John Law, minister at Neilston, heir of Mr Andrew Law, his father, also minister at Neilston, in the lands of Waterfutt, Kirkhill, &c. in the lordship of the Merns, 21st May, 1637. How these persons were connected with Mr Robert, does not appear; but it may be remarked, that the above-mentioned Mr John Law had a daughter Margaret, who became the wife of Bartholomew Robertson, and is described by Nisbet (*Heraldry*, vol. ii. p. 148,) as lawful daughter of John Law of Waterfutt of Merns, and sister to Mr Andrew Law, minister at Neilston, grandfather to John Law, “*the great Mr Law*, who was governor-general of the finances in France,” which militates against the received accounts of that celebrated adventurer’s pedigree, derived from ancestors said to have resided for several ages at Lithrie, in the shire of Fife.

At the Restoration of King Charles the Second, Mr Robert Law was none of those apostates who renounced the Solemn League and Covenant, and hailed the return of Episcopacy; with a number of other clergymen, as constant to their old persuasion as himself, he was expelled from his church of Easter Kirkpatrick for non-conformity, in the year 1662.

Though much more moderate in his principles, both religious and political, than the generality of his sect, his name is not to be found in the list of the Presbyterian clergy, to whom the indulgence was granted in the year 1669; but it is certain that he afterwards benefited himself by the unavailing concessions of the Episcopal party, which many of his brethren and their followers regarded in no other light than as a snare of the devil, wherewith the godly were tempted unto stumbling in faithfulness, yea, to advantage their adversaries, falling themselves most wickedly by the ears! In May 1674, the Scottish Privy-council order the Chancellor to send out military parties to apprehend all conventicle preachers, or such as pray at their meetings, according to information received. Among the denounced clergy appears Mr Law. The reward of a thousand merks was promised to any who should seize a common delinquent; but the persons of Messrs Welch and Semple, as *the loudest trumpeters of sedition*, were valued at the then exorbitant sum of four hundred pounds Sterling a piece!

On the 19th of July, Law was apprehended by a party of soldiers from Dumbarton Castle, and committed prisoner to the Tolbooth of Glasgow; from whence, after a confinement of eight days, he was carried to Edinburgh. A full account of this misfortune is to be found in his Memorials, p. 67. On confessing the truth of his accusation, and giving bond to make his appearance when called for, under a penalty of five thousand merks, he was set at liberty; but appears to have immediately betaken himself to his former practices; for, in "the Grievances given in by the several Presbyteries of the diocese of Glasgow to the Synod, 22d October, 1674," it is stated, "that conventicles do abound more publicly and avowedly, notwithstanding of all the acts and laws made against them; and these are kept both by men that are indulged, and others who are not; yea, some who never entered upon trials before any church-judicatory; viz. in Glasgow, by Mr Andrew Morton, Mr Robert Law, &c., all indulged, and confined to other places, yet residing within the town of Glasgow."

Mr Robert, however, did not join the insurgents at Bothwell-Bridge, an affair of which he seems, from his Memorials, in no measure to have approved. Afterwards, when the Privy-council deemed it expedient that the parishioners of the Presbyterian clergy should give bonds for the peaceable behaviour of

their ministers, Andrew Colquhoun of Carscadden, and Hugh Crawford of Cloberhill, in the name of the people of Easter Kilpatrick, presented to the council a petition that Mr Law should be allowed to continue as their pastor, which was granted; yet these indulged clergymen, according to Wodrow, preached in their respective parishes but for a short while.

The following notice respecting Law is to be found in a letter, of which the conclusion is destroyed, addressed to the Earl of Linlithgow, from Linlithgow, 2d February, 1683, and containing the deposition of the Laird of Duntarvie, as to his irregularity in absenting himself from the established church:—
“ Alexander Durhame of Duntarvie having judicallie deponed, that there was but two houss conventickles in his houss to his knowledge, he remembers no more; and that there war severall houss-meitings at James Dick’s houss, besyde in Dundass ground, bot remembers not how many; and depones, that he was not at any of the same, but was at the two that was in his owne house, his lady and children. Deponed to the second interrogation, that he had no children baptized in his houss, neither of his owne nor others, and had no marriage celebrat there. Deponed, that the ministers that preached, ther names was Mr William Symmervall, sometyme minister at Crawford John, and the other Mr Robert Law, sometyme minister at Kilpatrick; and this is the truth, as he shall answer to God.”

Of Law, nothing else has fallen within the circle of the Editor’s observation. It is probable, that he did not long survive the Revolution, the retour of his son and heir, Mr John Law of Ballernok, in these lands, being dated 28th February, 1690. From the same source, it appears that Mr Robert Law had a brother named James, to whom he succeeded “ in the propertie of the 40 shilling land of Balernok, with moss, mure, &c. quhilks are pairts of the lands of Provan, within the regality of Glasgow.”

On the surname of Law it may be observed, that it seems peculiarly devoted to the Scottish church; for, besides the clergymen mentioned above, and Law, archbishop of Glasgow, the author of the Statistical Account of the Parish of Crimond informs us, that “ Mr William Law, probably the first Presbyterian minister at Crimond after the Revolution, was deposed, soon after the beginning of the century, by the synod of Aberdeen, for what they were pleased to call heresy, he having asserted in a synod sermon, “ that virtue was more na-

tural to the human mind than vice." And the name of the Reverend Mr Robert Law, minister at Shots, appears in the list of subscribers to Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland.

The MS., from which the Memorials have been printed, is not in the handwriting of the author. Transcribed with extreme inaccuracy by some blundering amanuensis, it has been corrected by Wodrow himself; and forms a part of the voluminous collection of MSS. made by that reverend minister, as materials for his Account of the Sufferings of the Scottish Church; and for another work, which, from several papers in his library, he seems to have projected, but most unfortunately did not bring to perfection—a History or Collection of authentic Narratives respecting the Apparitions and Witchcraft of his Native Country.

As the principal merit of Mr Robert Law's Memorials consists in such stories, it may not be an improper introduction to trace our legends of wizardry and spectral appearances to the earliest periods of Scottish history—a task which might be extended to a folio volume, but shall at present be more properly comprised within the limits of a few pages.

THE first *strange sights*, as Mr Raphael Hollinshed terms them, which we meet with in Scottish Chronicles, occur in the reign of King Caratake, himself the eighteenth of Caledonia's visionary monarchs; apparitions of horsemen fighting and slaying each other—wolves which carried off to the woods a shepherd keeping his flock by night, and suffered him to escape again. "Moreover, in Carrick was a child born, perfect in all his limbs, saving the head, which was like unto a raven's." It should have been an eagle's; for these wonders were all portentous of Caratake's battles with the Romans, his Italian captivity, and subsequent return to Scotland.

Thus also, when Corbreid Gald, or Galgacus, marched against the squadrons of Italy, and sustained a signal defeat, "an eagle was seene almost a whole day, fleeing up and downe over the Scottish armie, even as though she had laboured herself wearie; also an armed man was seen flieing about the armie, and suddenlie vanished away. There fell, in like manner, out of a dark cloud in the fields, through the which the armie should pass, divers kinds of birds that

were spotted with blood." King Mogall was suspected to have known through witchcraft of that conspiracy against him, to which he fell a victim in the year 169. In the reign of Natholocus, a witch dwelt in Iona, so celebrated for her skill, that the king, when compelled to withdraw from the attacks of his rebellious subjects, sent one of his trusty followers to consult her as to the issue of the war. "The witch, consulting with her spirits, declared in the end, how it should come shortlie to pass that the king should be murdered, not by his open enemies, but by the hands of one of his most familiar friends, in whom he had reposed an especiall trust. The messenger demanded by whose hands that should be? 'Even by thine,' said she, 'as shall be well known within these few dayes.' The gentleman, hearing these words, railed against her verie bitterlie, bidding her go like an old witch, for he trusted to see her burnt before he should commit so villanous a deed. And, departing from her, he went by and by to signifie what answer he had received; but before he came where the king lay, his mind was altered, so that, what for doubt on the one side, that if he should declare the truth as it was told him, the king might, happlie, conceive some great suspicion that it should follow by his meanes as she had declared, and thereupon put him to death first; and for feare, on the other side, that if he keepe it secret, it might happen to be revealed by some other, and then he to run in as much danger of life as before. He determined with himself to work the surest way, and so coming to the king, he was led aside by him into his privie chamber, when all other being commanded to avoid, he declared how he had sped; and then falling forthwith upon Natholocus with a dagger, he slew him outright."

About the year 388, the singular piety of St Patrick, according to tradition, became so offensive to the devil, that he incensed the whole body of witches in Scotland against him. In a band they assailed the astonished saint, who fled towards the river Clyde, near the mouth of which he found a little boat, wherein he immediately leapt, and set off for Ireland. It is well known, that witches cannot cross a running stream in pursuit of their prey; but these tore a huge fragment of rock from a neighbouring hill, and hurled it after Patrick, taking, however, so bad an aim, that the mass fell harmless to the ground, and afterwards, with some additions from art, became the fortress of Dumbarton.

An. Do. 697, many *wonderful visions* were seen in Scotland. In the remoter parts it rained blood; and in the church of Camelon there was heard a noise, as if it had been the clattering of armour. In the same city, before its destruction by Kenneth, "as the bishop was at service, holding his crocier staffe in his hand, it was kindled so with fire, that by no meane it could be quenched, till it was burnt even to ashes. About noone-daie, the aire being faire and cleare, as well in the countries of the Scots as of the Picts, there was heard such a noise and clattering of weapons and armor, with braieng of horses, as though two armies should have beene together in fight, whereby manie of either nation who heard it were put in great feare."—HOLLINSHED. N. B. The said King Kenneth, among the laws attributed to him, ordained that jugglers, wizards, necromancers, and such as call up spirits, "and use to seek upon them for helpe, let them be burnt to death."

King Duffus's danger from witchcraft is detailed by Buchanan and other historians, and by Law himself, page 112. A company of hags roasted his image made of wax upon a wooden spit, reciting certain words of enchantment, and basting the figure with a poisonous liquor. These women, when apprehended, declared, that as the wax melted, the body of the king should decay, and the words of enchantment prevented him from the refreshment of sleep.* Duffus recovered his health after the destruction of the image; and the witches were burnt at Forres in Murray. The murder of this king, continue our Chronicle writers, occasioned many wonders. Horses in Lothian, remarkable for swiftness and beauty, devoured their own flesh, nor would they taste any other food. In Angus, a gentlewoman brought forth a child without eyes, nose, hands, or feet; a sparrowhawk was strangled by an owl; and the sun was completely veiled in clouds for the tedious space of six months.

Macbeth's adventure with the three weird sisters is the next remarkable event in our miraculous annals. They were dressed in strange and wild apparel, like people of *the elder world*; and it appears doubtful, whether they

* "His picture made in wax, and gently molten
By a blue fire, kindled with dead men's eyes,
Will waste him by degrees."—MIDDLETON'S *Witch*.

were mortal witches, or nymphs, *alias* fairies, who are supposed to be always on good terms with the others, whom they resemble in their evil propensities. In the *Recueil de Dissertations sur les Apparitions*, &c. printed at Avignon, 1751, is a story of a cup seized by a countryman at a banquet of these fairies, and presented to King Henry the First of England. It was of an extraordinary composition and colour, bearing no resemblance to common cups. Henry sent it to the king of Scotland, and it was preserved with great care in the royal treasury, till William the Lion restored it to England as a gift to Henry the Second. The drinking-glass at Eden-Hall, in Cumberland, is consecrated by a similar legend.*

In the year 1285, during the nuptial festivities of Alexander the Third at Jedburgh, a ghost, or something resembling a ghost, danced at a ball. Fordun says,—“*Insecutus est unus, de quo pene dubitari potuit utrum homo esset an phantasma; qui ut umbra magis labi videbatur, quam pedetentim transire.*” And Boece positively affirms that it was a skeleton.—“*Effigies hominis mortui, carne nudatis ejus ossibus, visa est.*”

In the reign of the same monarch flourished that mysterious prophet, wizard, semi-mortal, and poet, Thomas of Ercildoun, commonly called the Rymer, whose romance of Sir Tristrem has been of late so ably edited by Mr

* Cleland, in his *Effigies Clericorum*, attributes the disappearance of the Scottish fairies to the Reformation. Talking of Parnassus, he observes,—

“ There’s als much virtue, sense, and pith,
In Annan, or the Water of Nith,
Which quietly slips by Dumfries,
Als any water in all Greece.
For there, and several other places,
About mill-dams, and green brae faces,
Both Elrich elfs and brownies stayed,
And green-gown’d fairies daunc’d and played:
When old John Knox, and other some,
Began to plott the Haggis of Rome;
Then suddenly took to their heels,
And did no more frequent these fields;
But if Rome’s pipes perhaps they hear,
Sure, for their interest, they’ll compear
Again, and play their old hell’s tricks,” &c.

Scott, after giving the world some previous notices of true Thomas, in the second volume of the *Border Minstrelsy*; to those the reader is referred for many interesting particulars respecting the Nostradamus of Scotland, as well as of the Caledonian Merlin, with whose prophecies and adventures those of the other have been frequently blended and obscured. A contemporary of Thomas the Rymer was Hugh Gifford, Lord of Yester, esteemed a notable magician. He formed, by magic art, in his Castle of Yester, a capacious cavern, called Bohall, that is, Hobgoblin Hall,—(FORDUN, ii. 105.)—a spacious room, with a vaulted roof, which still remains entire. It may be observed, that the heiress of his family married Sir William Hay of Locharret, ancestor of John, third Lord Hay of Yester, whose daughter, Jean, became the wife of Brown of Coalston. This lady's dowry consisted of a single pear, probably enchanted by her ancestor, Hugh Gifford, which her father declared to be invaluable; assuring the Laird of Coalston, that whilst the pear was preserved in the family, it would certainly continue to flourish. This palladium is still carefully treasured up; but there is a mark on one side, made by the eager teeth of a lady of Coalston, who, while breeding, longed for the forbidden fruit, and was permitted to take one bite by her too-indulgent husband; in consequence, some of the best farms on the estate very speedily came to market. Crawford, the peerage writer, thus mentions the superstition in his *M.S. Account of the Browns of Coalston*:—"They had a pear in their family, which they esteemed yer palladium; it's reported, that Betty Mackenzie, when she married George Brown of Colstoun, the first night she came to the house of Colstoun, dreamed she had eat the pear, which her father-in-law looked on as a bad omen, and expressed great fears that she should be an instrument in the destruction of the house of Colstoun."

One of the most poetical passages in *Blind Harry's Life of Wallace*, contains an account of an apparition seen by the hero, after slaying Fawdoun, an Irishman of suspicious character, who accompanied him in his flight from the English forces at Black-erne Side. The enemy were aided in their pursuit by a blood-hound, whose course Wallace thus stopt—"While she gat blood, no fleeing might prevail,"—if he did not avenge himself of a treacherous friend's perfidy. He afterwards repaired to the Tower of Gask.

“ Threteyn war left with hym, no mar had he,
 In the Gask hall yair lugying haiff yai tayne,
 Fyr gat yai sone, bot meyt yan had yai nane;
 Twa scheipe yai tuk besyde yaim off a fauld,
 Ordanyt to soupe into yat sembly hauld;
 Graithit in haist sum fude for yaim to dycht,
 So hard yai blaw rude hornss upon hycht.
 Twa sende he furth to luk quhat it myght be,
 Yai bad rycht lang, and no tithings hard he,
 Bot boustouss noyis so brymly blow and fast,
 So oyir twa into ye wode furth past.
 Nane come agayne bot boustously can blaw,
 Into gret ire he send them furth on raw.
 Quhen yat allayne Wallace was lewynt yar,
 Ye awfull blast aboundyt mekill mar;
 Yan trewit he weille yai had hys lugyng seyne,
 Hys suerd he drew, of nobill mettall keyne,
 Syne furth he went quhar at he hard ye horn,
 Without ye dur Fawdoun was hym befor,
 As till hys sycht, hys awne hede in hys hand,
 A croyss he maid quhen he saw hym so stand.
 At Wallace in ye hede he swaket yar,
 And he in haist sone hynt it by ye hair;
 Syne out at hym agayne he couth it cast,
 Intill hys hart he was gretlye agast.
 Rycht weill he throwit yat was na spreit of man,
 It was sum dewill, at sic malice began.
 He wyst na weill yar langar for to byde,
 Up throw ye hall yus wycht Wallace can glyde;
 To a closs stayr, the burds raiff in twyne,
 Fyftyne fute large he lap out of yat inn.
 Up ye wattir sedeynlye he couth fair,
 Agayne he blent quhat perance he saw yair,
 He thocht he saw Fawdoun, yat ugly syr,
 Yat haill hall he had sett in a fyr;
 A gret raftre he had intill hys hand,
 Wallace as yan no langar wold he stand,” &c.

WALLACE, b. 5.

This period of Scottish history is remarkable for two very celebrated enchanter, Lord Soulis, and Sir Michael Scott of Balweary. Sir Michael was a man of considerable learning, and, if tradition is to be believed, a great benefactor to his country—with the aid of the devil, indeed, who now and then condescended, for purposes best known to himself, to help Sir Michael in his

philanthropic undertakings, such as forming the road through Locher-Moss, in Dumfries-shire, which these friends are supposed to have completed in the short space of one night. For many particulars concerning *Auld Michael of Balwearie*, see *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Notes to *The Mountain Bard*, and the excellent poem of *Anster Fair*.* William Lord Soulis was a wizard of a much more pernicious description. The Castle of Hermitage, the scene of his foul sorceries, and every species of wickedness, is said to have sunk partially into the earth, unable to bear the load of those accumulated crimes; and he himself, with appropriate cruelty, was boiled to death in a cauldron, at a place called the Nine-Stane Rig, by persons whom the king had unwarily authorised to execute so barbarous a sentence.—*Border Minstrelsy*, vol. ii.

In the year 1306, Robert Bruce stabbed John Cumyn, regent of Scotland, in the Dominical church of Dumfries; and the daggers of Roger Kirkpatrick of Closeburne, and of James Lindsay, completed the murder. Bowmaker informs us, that the corpse of the regent was afterwards watched by the Dominicans, with the usual ceremonies of the church. At the middle hour of the night, the whole assistants fell into the most profound slumber, saving one aged father,

* Sir Michael Scott is said to have been buried either at Holme-Cultram, in Cumberland, or Melrose Abbey; but his tomb is now fixed at the latter by the great poetical magician of his own name, who adds,—

“ Within it burns a wondrous light,
To chase the spirits that love the night:
That lamp shall burn unquenchably,
Until the eternal doom shall be.”

See the note to these verses for some curious circumstances respecting such lamps. Baptista Porta mentions a most extraordinary and dangerously-devised lamp, well known, it would appear, in his time, whose properties were quite as wonderful as the immortality of the sepulchral lights. “To let nothing pass that jugglers and impostors counterfeit, they set a lamp, with characters graved upon it, and filled with hare’s fat; then they mumble forth some words, and light it; when it burns in the middle of womens’ company, it constrains them all to cast off their clothes, and the women will never leave dancing so long as the lamp burns; and this was related to me by men of credit. I believe this effect can come from nothing but the hare’s fat, the force whereof, perhaps, is venomous, and penetrating the brain, moves them to this madness.” Quere, Do not the villanous oil-merchants of the present day light up our ball-rooms with something of the same nature? See also Reginald Scott’s *Discovery of Witchcraft*, b. 13. c. 30.

who heard, with terror and astonishment, a voice, like that of a wailing infant, exclaim,—“How long, O Lord, shall vengeance be deferred?” It was answered in a dreadful tone,—“Endure with patience until the anniversary of this day shall return for the fifty-second time.” In the year 1357, fifty-two years after the Red Cumyn’s death, Sir James Lindsay was hospitably feasted in the Castle of Caerlaveroc, in Dumfries-shire, belonging to Roger Kirkpatrick. They were the sons of the regent’s murderers. At midnight, for some cause unknown, Lindsay arose, and with a poniard assassinated his sleeping host. He then mounted his horse and fled; but after riding all night, he was taken at day-break, not three miles from the Castle, and executed for his crime at Dumfries.—*Vide WINTOWNE’S Cronykill*, b. 8. cap. 44; *Border Minstrelsy*, vol. iii. p. 328.*

From the contemporary account of the barbarous murder of King James the First, at Perth, in the year 1437, printed by Mr Pinkerton, we learn that the monarch’s fate was predicted by an Irish prophetess, or witch.—“The kyng, sodanly avised, made a solempne fest of the Cristynmes at Perth, which is clepid Sant John’s Town, which is from Edenbrough on that other side of the Scottish see, the which is vulgarly clepid the Water of Lethe. Yn the myddis of the way, thare arose a woman of Yreland, that clepid herselfe as a suthsayer. The which anone as she saw the kyng, she cried with lowde voise, saying thus:—‘My lord kyng, and ye pase this water, ye shall never turne agane on lyve.’ The kyng heryng this, was astonyed of her wordis; for bot a litile to fore he had red in a prophesie, that yn the selfe same yere the kyng of Scottes shuld be slayne; and therwithall the kyng, as he rode, clepid to him one of his knyghtis, and gave hym in commandment to torne agane to speke with that woman, and ask of here what sheo wold, and what thyng sheo ment with her lowd crying? And sheo began, and told hym as ye hafe hard of the kynge of Scottes yf he passed that water. As now the kynge askid her, how sheo knew that? And sheo said, that Huthart told her so. ‘Sire,’ quod ho, ‘men may calant ye tak non hede of yond woman’s wordes, for sheo nys bot a drunkine

* This apprehension of Sir James Lindsay, so near the spot where he had committed the murder, resembles that of Poltrot de Meré, the assassin of the Duke of Guise, who, after riding the whole night among the woods, was seized in the morning near the bridge of Olivet, only one league from Orleans.

fule, and wot not what sheo saith ;' and so, with his folk, passid the water clepid the Scottishe see, towards Saynt Johnnes Towne." The narrator states some dreams ominous of James's murder, and afterwards proceeds thus :—
" Both afore soper, and long aftir ynto quarter of the nyght, in the which the Erle of Athetelles, and Robert Stward were aboute the kyng, where thay wer occupied att the playng of the chesse, att the tables, yn redying of romans, yn syngyng and pyping, yn harping, and in other honest solaces of grete pleasance and disport. Therwith came the said woman of Yreland, that clepid herself a dyvenourese, and entered the kyng's courte, till that sheo came streght to the kyng's chambur-dore, where sheo stood, and abode bycause that hit was shitte. And fast sheo knokyd, till at the last the usher opyned the dure, marvelyng of that woman's beyng there that tyme of the nyght, and askyng here what sheo wold ? ' Let me yn, sire,' quod sheo, ' for I haf sumwhat to say, and to tell unto the kyng ; for I am the same woman that nocht long agone desired to haf spokyn with hym at the Lith, whan he should passe the Scottish see.' The usher went yn and told hym of this woman. ' Yea,' quod the kyng, ' let hir cume to-morrow ;' bycause that he was occupied with suche disportes at that tyme, hym let not to entend her as thenne. The usher came agane to the chamber-dore, to the said woman, and there he told hir that the kyng was besye in playing, and bid her cum soon agane upon the morrow. ' Well,' said the woman, ' hit shall repent yow all that ye wil not let me speke nowe with the kyng.' Therat the usher lughe, and held her bot a fule, charging her to go her way, and therwithall she went thens." The Earl of Athole, one of the chief conspirators, was afterwards, at his execution, crowned with a regal diadem of red-hot iron, because, says Buchanan, certain witches, for whom the county of Athole was always infamous, had told him that he would be crowned a king in sight of all the people. The historian sagely adds,—"*Idque vaticinium ita vel impletum vel elusum est : ac certe tales predictiones frequenter hujusmodi sortiuntur eventus.*"

In the year 1466, the night before Christmas-day, as John Cameron, Bishop of Glasgow, a man of a wicked life, lay asleep in his house of Lockwood, a loud clap of thunder roused him, followed immediately by a voice, charging him to appear before the tribunal of God, to be tried for his manifold crimes. The startled prelate called for his attendants and lights, and sitting up upon his bed, began to read a book, when a second clap of thunder, and the same

words, were heard by all ; a third time the thunder and the summons were repeated, but in a still louder manner, when the bishop fell back upon the bed, and expired with one heavy groan, his tongue hanging out of his mouth as if he had died from strangulation.—BUCHANAN, PITSCOTTIE.

The disastrous fate of the Earl of Mar in the year 1479 was, in some measure, occasioned by an accusation of practising magic, which he was alleged to have directed against the king his brother's life. Several authors impute the enmity of James against Mar and Albany to a prophecy of some witches, to whom, says Buchanan, the monarch was greatly addicted, or of Andrew, a Flemish astrologer, favoured by the king, who affirmed, that in Scotland a lion should be devoured by his whelps. Twelve mean women, and several wizards, accused of having employed diabolic arts in the service of Mar, by roasting the king in a waxen effigy, were burnt at Edinburgh soon after the murder of that unhappy prince.

About the year 1480, if we may yield credit to Boece, the wicked spirits Incubi and Succubi (for a curious account of which see Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*) were exceedingly troublesome in Scotland. A ship sailing out of the Forth towards Flanders, in the middle of summer, was assailed with a furious tempest, which increased with such vehemence, that the mariners, astonished at so singular a hurricane, during the mildest season of the year, gave themselves up for lost; when a woman, who had taken refuge below, called to them to throw her overboard into the sea, as the only means of preserving their own lives, confessing, that she had been long haunted with an Incubus, wearing the likeness of a man, in whose embraces she was at that very moment speaking. Luckily for all parties, there chanced to be a priest in the ship, who hastened to the poor woman's rescue; and after a long admonition, followed by many sighs and tears of the wretched penitent, "there issued forth of the pumpe of the ship," says Hollinshed, "a foul and evil favoured blacke cloud, with a mightie terrible noise, flame, smoke, and stinke, which presentlie fell into the sea, and suddenlie thereupon the tempest ceased, and the ship passing in great quiet the residue of her journie, arrived in safetie at the place whither she was bound."

Not long before this event, a young man, near Aberdeen, remarkable for his personal attractions, complained to the bishop of the diocese, that he was in-

fested by a spirit in the shape of a female, "so fair and beautiful a thing, that he never saw the like," which would come to his chamber at night, and endeavour to allure him to her embraces. The bishop wisely advised him to remove into another country, and addict himself to fasting and prayer, which measure had the desired effect; a thing wonderful enough, considering the wicked perseverance of these spirits, as distinguished for their unwearied pursuit of their victims, (vide CAZOTTE'S *Diabie Amoureux*), as for their subsequent constancy. Benoit, a wizard of Berne, was burnt alive at the age of 75, after confessing, that, for *forty years*, he had kept up an amatory commerce with a Succubus, called Hermeline; and Mirandula mentions one Pinet, a man aged 80, convicted of a like protracted commerce with a spirit named Florina.

"About the same time also," continues Hollinshed from Boethius, "there was in the countrie of Mar, a young gentlewoman of excellent beautie, and daughter unto a nobleman there, refusing sundrie wealthie mariages offered to her by her father, and other friends. At length she prooved with child, and being rigorouslie compelled by her parents to tell who was the father, she confessed, that a certain young man used nightly to come unto her, and kept her companie, and sometimes in the day also, but how or from whence he came, or by what meanes he went awaie, she was not able to declare. Her parents, not greatlie crediting her words, laid diligent watch, to understand what he was that had defiled their house; and within three days after, upon signification given by one of their maidens, that the fornicator was at that very instant with their daughter, incontinentlie thereupon, making fast the doors, they enter the chamber with a great manie of torches and lights, where they find in their daughter's armes a foul monstrous thing, verie horrible to behold. Here a number coming hastilie in, to behold this evil favoured sight, amongst others, there was a priest of verie honest life, not ignorant (as was thought) in knowledge of holie scripture. This priest (all other being afraid), and some of them running their waies, began to recite the beginning of St John's Gospell, and coming to these words, *Verbum caro factum est*, suddenlie the wicked spirit, making a verie sore and terrible roaring noise, flue his waies, taking the rooffe of the chamber awaie with him, the hangings and coverings of the bed being also burnt therewith. The gentlewoman was yet preserved, and within three or four daies after was delivered of such a mishapen thing, as the like before had not beene seene,

which the midwives and women, such as were present at her labour, to avoid the dishonour of her house, immediatlie burnt in a great fire, made in the chamber for the same intent."— See DU ROSSET'S *Histoires Tragiques*, for a dismal story of a young lady beloved by a spirit; but the most curious incident of this nature, which I have met with, is quoted by Richard Baxter from Scribonius. "Near Witeberg, a merchant's wife that passed for an honest woman, was used to admit one peculiar concubine; and once, her husband being from home, her lover came to her in the night, and having pleased his love, in the morning he arose, and sate on the top of the door in the shape of a magpye, and said to her this farewell,—*'Hitherto this hath been thy sweet-heart,'* and vanished with the words."—*Certainty of the World of Spirits*, p. 102. "I rather think that this was a man-witch than a devil," adds Baxter; but for what reason, unluckily, he does not say.

For an account of the apparition which admonished James the Fourth previous to the battle of Flodden, and of the voice heard in the silence of night at the Cross of Edinburgh, summoning the devoted host to the tribunal of Plotcock, the reader is referred to the Notes on Marmion; but much less dignified prodigies announced the issue of that fatal conflict. In the council of war, held by James to arrange the order of battle, a hare appeared, and escaped through a thousand arrows, daggers, and other things, aimed at her by the shouting assembly. The same night mice gnawed asunder the leather-strap of James's helmet, by which it was usually suspended from the tester of his bed; and at day-break, a dewy moisture, resembling blood, appeared to stain the inner curtains of the royal tent.

The annals of James the Fifth's reign are disgraced with the execution of Lady Janet Douglas, sister of the Earl of Angus, widow of John Lyon Lord Glamis, and wife of Archibald Campbell of Kepneith. She was accused, together with her husband, her son the Lord Glamis, John Lyon his relation, and an old priest, of having meditated the death of James, by poison or witchcraft, with the intention of restoring the house of Angus. The following extract respecting her trial is taken from an abridgement of the Criminal Records of Edinburgh. "July 17, 1537.—Janeta Douglas, Domina de Glamis, convicted by the assize, viz. Earl of Athole, Earl of Buchan, Lord Maxwell, Master of Glencairne, Home of Coldinknows, Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael, Crichton of

Ravennis, Ker of Mersington, Earl of Cassillis, Lord Semple, Laird of Raith, Tower of Inverleith, Barclay of Mathers, Edmonston of that ilk, M'Lellan, tutor of Bomby. *Sententia Forisfacturæ*. It is fundin be the said assize, that Janet Douglas, Lady of Glamis, hes committed art and part of the treasonable consperation and magination of the slaughter and destruction of our sovereign Lord his most noble person by poyson, and for art and part of the treasonable assistance, supply, intercommuning, and fortifying of Archibald, sometime Earl of Angus, and George Douglas his brother, rebels and traitors, in a treasonable manner. For the whilk treasonable crimes the said Janet, Lady of Glamis, be forfaulted to our sovereign Lord, her life, lands, goods, moveable and immoveable, and that she shall be had to the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, and there burnt in ane fire to the dead as ane traytor; and that I gif for doom."— From dates it appears, that this noble witch, who was as remarkable for her beauty and courage, as for her dismal fate, was hurried from the bar to the stake, where she died with great composure, amid the loud lamentations of the multitude.*

King James the Fifth was reported to have seen in dreams, a short time previous to his death, the apparitions of two persons, who were supposed to have lost their souls in his service. Of this, Knox gives the following account:— "Yit did not God ceiss to gif that blindit prince some documentis that some suddane plague was to fall upoun him, in caiss he did not repent his wicked lyif, and that his awin mouthe did confesse; for after that Sir James Hamiltoun was behided (justlie or injustlie, we dispute not) this visioun cam unto him, as to his familiaris himself did declair; the said Sir James apeired unto him, havand in his hand ane drawn sword, be the quhilk fra the king he straik bayth

* In Dunbar's poem, called The Dream of the Abbot of Tungland, (an Italian mountebank, who composed a pair of wings, and attempted to fly to France from the walls of Stirling Castle, 1503-7) mention is made of a witch, concerning whose biography the editor is completely in the dark:—

"Undir Saturnus fyrie regioun,
Symone Magus sall meit him, and Mahoun;
And Merlyne at the mone sall hym be bydand,
And Jonet the widow on ane bessome rydand,
Of wichis with an windrous garesoun."

the airmes, saying to him thir wordis, ‘Tak that, quhill thou resave a finall payment for all thine impitie.’ This visioun, with sorrowfull continance, he schew one the morne, and schortlie thairefter deid his two sonis, both within the spaice of 24 hours; yea, some say, within the spaice of sex hours. How terribill a visioun the said prince saw, lying in Linlithgow, that nycht Thomas Scott, Justice-Clerk, died in Edinburgh, men of gude credite can yit reporte; for affrayit at midnycht or efter, he cryit for torches, and raissit all that lay besyde him in the pallace, and tould that Tome Scot was deid; for he had bein at him with a cumpanye of devillis, and had said unto him this word, ‘O wo to the day that evir I knew thee or thy service; for, for serving of the, against God, against his servants, and against justice, I ame adjudgit to endles torment.’—Knox’s *History*, p. 24.

The reign of James’s unhappy daughter, as it abounded in other crimes, so it was fruitful of witchcraft. The Lady Buccleuch, whom Mr Scott has immortalized in the Lay of the Last Minstrel, belonging to a family distinguished for talent, and endowed with a masculine courage, was said to have gained the queen’s consent to the murder of Darnley through her witchcraft,—backed by the persuasions of Bothwell, indeed, which, was Marie really conscious of the plot, may be justly suspected the stronger stimulus of the twain.* The Countess of Athole, too, was another lady much accused of practising the *black art*. Bannatyne, the secretary of Knox, notes in his journal—“On Tuysday the 3d

* Buchanan thus notices two *ostenta*, which preceded the murder of Darnley:—“*Jacobus Londinus, homo Fifanus, honesto loco natus, cum febris diu laborasset, pridie quam Rex occideretur, circa meridiem, in lecto se paullum erexit, ac, velut attonitus, magna voce obtestatus est præsentes; ‘Ut Regi opem ferrent: jam enim parricidas eum invadere.’ Deinde, paullo post, cum flebili questu exclamavit; ‘Frustra opem feretis; jam trucidatus est.’ Nec ipse diu post eam vocem supervixit. Alterum cum cœde ipsa conjunctum fuit. Tres e familiaribus comitis Atholiæ, Regis propinqui, homines et virtute et genere minime obscuri, non procul a Regis hospitio divertebant: iis circiter mediam noctem dormientibus, ad Dugallum Stuartum, qui proxime parietem accubabat, quidam visus est accedere, ac manu leviter per barbam malamque ducta, eum excitare, dicens; ‘Surgite, vim vobis afferunt.’ Is experrectus repente, cum visum secum revolveret, alius confestim ex alio lecto exclamat; ‘Quis me calcat?’ Et cum Dugallus respondisset: ‘Felem esse fortasse, qui (ut fit) noctu oberraret:’ tum tertius, qui nondum experrectus fuerat, statim e lecto se coniecit in pedes, rogitans; ‘Quis colaphum sibi incussisset:’ et cum dicto, per ostium visus est quispiam egredi, nec sine strepitu. Interea, dum illi visa et audita inter se conferunt, domus Regiæ cadentis fragor auditus omnes consternavit.”*

of Julii, 1571, Andro Lundie beand at dener with my maister, in a place of the Lard of Abbotshalls, called Falsyde, openlie affirmet for treuth, that when the queene was lying in ieasing of the king, the Ladie Athole lying thair likwayis, bayth within the Castle of Edinburgh, that he come thair for sum busines, and called for the Ladie Reirres, whom he fand in hir chalmer lying bedfast; and he asking hir of hir disease, sche ans writ that sche was never so troubled with no barne that ever sche bair, for the Ladie Athole had cassin all the pyne of her child-birth upon hir.”*

* In the case of Margaret Hutchison, a witch, 20th August, 1661, the indictment, among other things, charges, that after her threatenings, Henry Balfour contracted the pains of a woman in child-bed, with a universal swelling in his body, whereof he died. As witches were able to afflict with diseases, so they could transfer them from one person to another, or to four-footed animals, such as dogs and cats. By this traffic they sometimes realised considerable sums. In the Staggering State of Scots Statesmen are the following wonderful anecdotes respecting the family of Mark, commendator of Newbattle, who was master of requests to King James the Sixth, from 1578 to 1597. “He had by his wife, the Lord Herries’s daughter, thirty-one children. His lady always kept in her company wise women or witches, and especially one Margaret Nues (Innes), who fostered his daughter, the Lady Borthwick, who was long after his death burnt in Edinburgh for that crime; and my Lady Lothian’s son-in-law, Sir Alexander Hamilton, told one of his friends, how one night lying in Prestongrange, pertaining to the said abbay of Newbattle, he was pulled out of his bed by the said witches, and sore beaten; of which injury, when he complained to his mother-in-law, and assured her he would complain thereof to the council, she pacified him by giving him a purse full of gold. That lady thereafter, being vexed with a cancer in her breast, implored the help of a notable warlock, by a by-name called Playfair, who condescended to heal her, but with condition, that the sore should fall on them that she loved best; whereunto she agreeing did convalesce; but the earl, her husband, found the boil in his throat, of which he died shortly thereafter; and the said Playfair, being soon apprehended, was made prisoner in Dalkeith steeple, and having confest that and much more wickedness to Mr Archibald Simson, minister there, and that confession coming to the ears of Robert, Earl of Lothian, my lord’s son, he had moyen to get some persons admitted to speak with the prisoner in the night, by which means he was found worried in the morning, and the point of his breeches knit about his neck, but never more enquiry was made who had done the deed.”

In the legend of Adamsone, archbishop of St Andrews, a scurrilous pasquil not devoid of humour, we have a list of the charms used by a witch, in order to cure the prelate of a disease, for which the regular practitioners of medicine could discover no remedy.

“He seing weill he wald not mend,
For Phetanissa hes he send,
With sorcerie and incantationes,
Raising the devill with invocationes,

This countess was Margaret, daughter of Malcolm, third Lord Fleming; the widow of Robert Master of Montrose, and of Thomas Master of Mar, when she gave her hand to the Earl of Athole. The following letter, addressed "To hir sister, my Ladye Livingston," now first printed, may be deemed curious, as the epistle of a witch. The last words and signature only are in the hand-writing of the Countess.

"SISTER—Efter maist hartly commendationes, for sa mekill as I promest you to adverteis you quhan we var in Stirvelying of my lord's dyet, as I belief he vill not gang out of yis contray quhill Halowmes, and gif my lord zour housband and ze plesis to cum, ze vilbe verray hartly velcum; and my lord my housband desyrs my lord and zow to tak ye pains yrto. Ze vill appardoun me yt I vryt not to zow with my own hand, for ye fit of ane sicknes fallen on my hed, that I can not vryt as ye berar can schow zow. Gif ze meit with my sister ye Ladye Calder, ze vill excuss me yt I vryt not to hir, and yt scho gat not hir aquavyte, for it ran out yt scho suld haif gotten. And gif yr be onye thyng ze wald I did ze vill adverteis. I praye zow fail not to send me my samplar with ye varkp, bath zow put in it, for I haif many warks begun bydand on it. And adverteis me afoir zour cuming in the pairts, that we be not awaye na gait. Ze will mak my hartye commendation to my lord zour housband, with als mekill

With herbis, stanis, buikis and bellis,
And south running wellis ;

Palme croces, and knottis of strease,

The paring of a priestes auld tees ;

And, *in principio*, sought out syne,

That under ane alter of stane had lyne,

Sanet Jhones nutt, and the four levit claver,

With taill and mayn of a baxter aver,

Had careit hame heather to the oyne,

Cuttet off in the cruik of the moone ;

Halie water, and the lambe beidis,

Hyntworthe, and fourtie uther weidis :

Whairthrow the charming tuik sic force,

They laid it on his fatt whyte horse.

As all men saw, he sone decessit,

Thair Saga slew ane saikles beast."

of my lords to zour self and him bayth; and God haif (ze) in his kepying. Of Blair ye 23d day of September, 1560, your afficnet and guid sister for ever,

"MARGRET CONTIS OF ATHOLL."

In this superstitious age, it was not wonderful that even John Knox, the great organ of Reformation, should be esteemed a skilful wizard by the catholics of Scotland. He was accused of attempting to raise *some sanctis* in the church-yard of St Andrews, among whom Satan himself started up, having a huge pair of horns on his head, at which terrible sight Knox's secretary became mad, and died.* Moreover, Nicol Burne, in his Disputation, bitterly inveighs against John as a sorcerer, for having in his old age secured the affections of Lord Ochiltree's daughter, "ane damosil of nobil blude, and he ane auld decrepit creatur of maist bais degree of onie that could be found in the coun-trey." Certainly such suspicions of philtres† and *glamour* are almost warrant-able, when it is considered that Knox was the author of "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women," in which he most ungallantly affirms, that "nature doth paint them forth to be weak, frail, un-patient, feeble, and foolish; and experience hath declared them to be uncon-stant, variable, cruel, and void of the spirit of counsel and regiment. For these notable faults, which in all ages have been espied in them, men have not only removed them from rule and authority, but also some have thought that *men subject to the counsel and empire of their wives, were unworthy of all public office.*"

* Sir Lewis Ballantyne, Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland, (1578-1591) "by curiosity, dealt with a warlock, called Richard Grahame, to raise the devil, who having raised him in his own yard in the Canongate, he was thereby so terrified, that he took sickness, and thereof died."—*Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen.*

† See the Romance of Sir Tristrem, for the fatal effects of the *boire amoureuse* on that luck-less knight and his lady—

"In evil time to sain
The drink was ywrought;"

and the ingenious note on the passage. Scott of Scotstarvet informs us, that the first Lord Balmerino, "being a widower, got an amatorious potion from a maid in his house, called Young, (thereafter wife to Doctor Honeyman) of which he died." For "the toies, which are said to procure love," as Reginald Scott terms them, consult his *Discovery of Witchcraft*, b. 6. c. 7.

At this many ladies of his day would have exclaimed with Sir David Lindsay's Abbasse :—

“ How dar thou, carle, presume for till declair,
Or for to mell thee with sa heich mater?
I dar weill say, thou art condempnit in hell,
That dois presume with sic materis to melle;
Fals hureson carle, thou art over arrogant.”

But the daughter of Lord Ochiltree could overlook such matrimonial heresy; nay, even the advanced age and harsh features of the reformer were forgotten. His “grim visage of verjuice, scowling over a rusty beard shaped like an otter's tail,” had no terrors for her Calvinistic soul; though, in a sense somewhat different from that of Dunbar's *Mariit Woman*, she might have said—

“ The luif blenkis of that bogil, fra his bleirit ene,
As Belzebub had on me blent, abasit my spreit.”

Knox's visits of gallantry to his mistress, as described by Nicol Burne, form an admirable subject for the comic pencil.

At the same period, witches abounded in all parts of Scotland. Knox particularly mentions the Countess of Huntley as a patroness of these hags. Giving an account of the skirmish of Corrichie, in which her husband died from fatigue, he says :—“ The erle, immediately after his taiking, depairted this lyif without ony wound, or yit appeirance of ony straick, quhairof death mycht have ensewed; and so, becaus it was lait, he was cast over athort a pair of creilles, and so was caried to Aberdene, and was layd in the Tolboyth thareof, that the respons quhilk his wyif's witches had gevin, mycht be fulfilled, quha all affirmed, (as the most pairt say) that that same nycht sould he be in the Tolboyth of Aberdene, without ony wound upon his body. Quhen his lady gat knowledge theirof, sche blaimit hir principall witch, called Jonet; bot sche stoutly defendit hirself, (as the devill can evir do) and affirmed, that sche gave a trew answer, albeit, sche spack not all the treuth, for sche knew that he sould be thare dead; bot that culd not profit my lady, sche was angry and sorry for a season; bot the devill, the mess, and witches, have als gritt credit of hir this

day, the 12th of Junii, 1566, as they had sevin yeirs ago." The son of this Lord Huntly, George, the fifth earl, died suddenly in a convulsion fit, as it would appear, attended with several uncommon symptoms. A very curious account of his death has been printed by Mr Dalyell, at the end of Bannatyne's Journal. Several of his followers, the narrator affirms, were seized with a disorder resembling that of the earl, whose corpse, being removed to the chapel before inhumation, the chamber in which it was embalmed, was haunted with "ane greit noys and din; whidder it was of speiche, of grayning, or rumbling, I can not tell."*

In the year 1588, Alison Pearson, in Byre-hills, Fifeshire, was convicted of practising sorcery, and of invoking the foul fiend; she acknowledged that she had been intimate with the Queen of Elfland for many years, and that she had many friends of her own kin in the Court of Fairy. Her extravagant confession may be found in the Border Minstrelsy, vol. ii. p. 213. Two years afterwards, Catharine Ross, Lady Fowllis, was endited at the instance of the king's advocate, and Hector Munro of Foullis, her own son-in-law, for witchcraft. The first article of accusation urged against her is "the making of two clay pictures, one for the destruction of the young Lady Balnagowan, and getting them enchanted, and shooting of elf-arrow heads at the saids persons; second, for making a stoupfull of poisoned aill for performance of your devillish malice, wherewith ye killed sundry; third, sending a pigfull of poyson to the house where young Foullis was, the carrier whereof falling, and with the fall breaking the pig, and seeing the liquor, tasted it, and dyed immediately; and the

* In the journal prefixed to this narrative, there is mention of a very notable witch burnt at St Andrews in the year 1572, who declared openly that she cared not whether she went to heaven or hell. A white cloth, "like a collore craig with stringis, whairon was mony knottis," being taken from about her person, she immediately gave way to despair, exclaiming, "Now I have no hoip of myself." In the Historie of King James the Sext, the regent of Scotland is said to have repaired to St Andrews, (May 1569), "quhair a notabill sorceres callit Nicniven, (this name, generally given to the Queen of the Fairies, was probably bestowed upon her on account of her crimes,) was condemmit to the death and burnt." This I suspect to be the witch above-mentioned, though the dates disagree. The author of the historie adds, "a Frenchman callit Paris, quha was ane of the designeris of the king's death, was hangit in St Andro, and with him William Steward, lyoun king of armes, for divers pointes of witchcraft and necromancie."

grasse which grows where it fell, no beast will eat of it; fourth, for saying that ye would use all means that may be had of God in heaven, or the devill in hell, for destroying Marjory Campbell, the Lady Balnagowan, that the laird might marry the Lady Foullis; also hindering a commission that was granted for tryall of witches, and procuring a suspension thereof, which, if thou had been ane honest woman, thou would never have done."—*Abbreviate of the Justiciary Record*. It appears that the Lady of Foullis, together with Christian Ross, and other witches, had made two clay images, one representing Robert Munro, then fiar of Foullis, the other Marjory Campbell, spouse to Ross, younger of Balnagowan; but these figures chancing to break, one of the witches undertook, at Lady Foullis's desire, to compose two more, which accordingly was done. This Christian Ross, who was burnt for the crime at Channerie, confessed her guilt before Urquhart of Cromarty, and Irvine of Kynnock. And William Macgillimondan, a *warlock*, who also suffered death for the same practices, confessed the acts of poison, particularly an attempt to destroy the chief of the name of Munro. These hags and wizards sometimes composed their enchanted figures of butter. Lady Foullis was acquitted, as was also her husband, Hector Munro of Foullis, accused of "consulting of witches in order to cure his brother of sicknesse, and to cure himself; and that the said witches came to him, and practised their devillish charms, particularly that one of them dug a grave on the confines of lands belonging to two different superiors, in which they laid him, and after using several devillish charms, took him up, by which means he was recovered, and the disease laid upon George Munro, son to Katharine Ross, Lady Fowles, of which he dyed."

The next remarkable trial for witchcraft in the Justiciary Record, (1590) is that of Bessy Roy, servant to the Laird of Boquhane, who, among other magical performances, "once in the field, in the presence of sundry other servants, drew a compas, made a hole in the midst of it; then, by her conjurations, came forth a great worme, and crap over the circle; then a small one, and also crap over; then a great one, which sank again into the hole; which enchantment she interpreted thus to them: The first great worm is the good-man, that he shall live long; the second is a barne in the ladye's womb, (whereas nobody knew she was with barne,) and that the barne should live;

the last great worme was the goodwyfe, that should die of the birth ; all which came to pass as she said."

But about this time a wonderful conspiracy of Satan's agents was discovered near to Edinburgh, the circumstances of which are given in a very scarce black-letter pamphlet, entitled,—“Newes from Scotland, declaring the damnable Life of Doctor Fian, a notable Sorcerer, who was burned at Edenbrough in Januarie last, 1591 ; which Doctor was Register to the Devill, that sundrie times Preached at North-Baricke Kirke to a number of notorious Witches. With the true Examinations of the said Doctor and Witches, as they uttered them in the presence of the Scottish King ; discovering how they pretended to Bewitch and Drowne his Majestie in the sea coming from Denmarke, with such other wonderful Matters as the like hath not bin heard at anie time. Published according to the Scottish Copie. Printed for William Wright.” After an address to the reader, in which the pamphleteer observes, that he was principally induced to print a narrative of these wonders, “for that sundry written coppies are lately dispersed thereof, containing that the said witches were first discovered by means of a poore pedlar, travelling in the town of Tranent, and that by a wonderfull manner hee was in a moment convayed at midnight from Scotland to Burdeux, in France, (being places of no small distance) into a merchant's sellar there ;* and after being sent from Burdeux into Scotland by certain Scottish merchants, to the king's majestie, that he discovered those witches, and was the cause of their apprehension ; with a number of matters miraculous and incredible, all which, in truth, are most false,”

* Though the author of the pamphlet yields no belief to the anecdote of the pedlar, the wooden cut which embellishes his work exhibits the figure of a man asleep in a cellar, with others banquetting in the back ground. *Vide* frontispiece. In Aubrey's Miscellanies is a story of an ancestor of the Lord Duffus, who was suddenly transported through the air from Scotland to Paris, where he found himself in the French king's cellar, with a silver cup in his hand. In the year 1695, this cup was still in the possession of the family. See Lord Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 15, for a curious account of the rencounter, as he calls it, betwixt Mr David Williamson, schoolmaster at Couper, and the Rosicrucians, who could make their spirits bring “noble Greek wine from the Pope's cellars” to Couper, and feasted the schoolmaster at London “with all the varieties of delicate meats, where they were all served by spirits.” The truth of this story Lord Fountainhall had from Williamson's son, minister of Kirkaldie, who denied the very unsavoury conclusion with which report had defiled the banquet.

he makes some observations on the merciful interposition of Providence with regard to the wicked designs of the sorcerers and witches, and then proceeds to state, that "within the town of Trenent, in the kingdome of Scotland, there dwelleth one David Seaton, who being deputie bailiffe in the said towne, had a maide called Geillis Duncane, who used secretlie to absent and lie forth of her maister's house every other night. This Geillis Duncane tooke in hand to helpe all such as were troubled or grieved with anie kind of sickness or infirmitie, and in short space did perfourme many matters most miraculous; which things, for asmuch as she began to do them upon a sodaine, having never done the like before, made her maister and others to be in great admiration, and wondered thereat; by means wherof the saide David Seaton had his maide in greate suspition that she did not those things by natural and lawfull waies, but rather supposed it to bee done by some extraordinarie and unlawful meanes.

"Whereupon her maister began to grow verie inquisitive, and examined hir which way, and by what meanes, shee was able to performe matters of so great importance? whereat shee gave him no answer. Neverthelesse, her maister, to the intent that hee might the better trie and finde out the truth of the same, did, with the help of others, torment her with the torture of the pilliwinkes upon her fingers, which is a grievous torture, and binding or wrinching her head with a cord or roape, which is a most cruell torment also, yet would she not confess anie thing; whereuppon they suspecting that she had been marked by the devill, (as commonly witches are) made diligent search about her, and found the enemies mark to be in her fore crag, or fore part of her throate;* which being found, shee confessed that all her doings was done

* "There have been many found in whom such characters have concurred, as by the observation of all ages and nations, are symptoms of a witch; particularly the witch's marks, *mala fama*, inability to shed tears, &c., all of them providential discoveries of so dark a crime, and which, like avenues, lead us to the secret of it. 'Tis true, one man, through the concurrence of corrosive humours, may have an insensible mark, another may be enviously defamed, and a third, through sudden grief or melancholy, not be able to weep. One or other of these may concur in the innocent, but none do attest that all of them have concurred in any one person but a witch; and 'tis reasonable to think that these indicia taking place in witches through all places in the world, do proceed from a common cause, rather than a peculiar humour. 'Tis but

by the wicked allurements and entisements of the devil, and that she did them by witchcraft.

“ After this her confession, she was committed to prison, where she continued a season, where immediately she accused these persons following to be notorious witches, and caused them forthwith to be apprehended, one after another, viz.—Agnes Sampson, the eldest witch of them all, dwelling in Haddington; Agnes Tompson, of Edinbrough; Doctor Fian, *alias* John Cunningham, master of the schoole at Saltpans, in Lowthian, of whose life and strange acts you shal heare more largely in the end of this discourse. These were by the saide Geillis Duncane accused, as also George Mott’s wife, dwelling in Lowthian; Robert Grierson, skipper; and Jennet Blandilands; with the potter’s wife of Seaton; the smith at the Brigge Hallis; with innumerable others in those parts, and dwelling in those bounds aforesaid, of whom some are already executed; the rest remaine in prison, to receive the doome of judgement at the king’s majesties will and pleasure.

“ The said Geillis Duncane also caused Ewphame Mecalrean to be apprehended, who conspired and performed the death of her god-father, and who

rational to think that the devil, aping God, should imprint a sacrament of his covenant; and it is thought by many, of greatest repute in the learned world, that whatsoever way, whether by accident or otherwise, such insensible marks be in the body, yet no such mark as theirs, every circumstance considered, is to be found with any other but themselves. I need not insist much in describing this mark, which is sometimes like a little teate, sometimes but a blewish spot; and I myself have seen it in the body of a confessing witch, like a little powder-mark, of a blea colour, somewhat hard, and withall insensible, so as it did not bleed when I pricked it.”—*A Discourse of Witchcraft, by Mr John Bell, Minister of the Gospel at Gladsmuir, 1705, MS.*

In another printed Tract, by the same author, entitled, “ The Trial of Witchcraft; or Witchcraft Arraigned and Condemned, in some Answers to a few Questions anent Witches and Witchcraft, wherein is shewed how to know if one be a Witch, as also when one is bewitched: With some Observations upon the Witch’s Mark, their compact with the Devil, the White Witches, &c.”—he says, “ The witch mark is sometimes like a blew spot, or a little tate, or reid spots, like flea biting; sometimes also the flesh is sunk in, and hallow, and this is put in secret places, as among the hair of the head, or eye-brows, within the lips, under the arm-pits, and even in the most secret parts of the body.” Mr Robert Kirk, minister at Aberfoill, in his *Secret Commonwealth*, describes the witch’s mark—“ A spot that I have seen, as a small mole, horny, and brown-coloured; throw which mark, when a large brass pin was thrust, (both in buttock, nose, and rooff of the mouth,) till it bowed and became crooked, the witches, both men and women, nather felt a pain nor did bleed, nor knew the precise time when this was doing to them, (their eyes only being covered.)”—See also the Memorials, p. 130, note.

used her art upon a gentleman being one of the lordes and justices of the session, for bearing good will to her daughter.* She also caused to be apprehended one Barbara Naper, for bewitchinge to death Archibalde, last Earle of Angus, who languished to death by witchcraft, and yet the same was not suspected, but that hee died of so straunge a disease as the phisition knewe not how to cure or remedie the same.† But of all other the saide witches, these

* “*Ad. contra* Euphame Maccalzeane, (her father was an advocate) spouse to Patrick Maccalzeane, *alias* Moscropt, for many treasonable conspiracies undertaken by witchcraft, to have destroyed the king’s person by a pictur of wax, and have bereft his majesty of his life. *Item*, for enterprysing to kill her husband, that she might gett another goodman, and for drowning a boat betwixt Leith and Kinghorne, wherein were 60 persons lost; convict of thir, and many other monstrous points, sentenced to be burnt quick to the death, and all hir lands and goods forfeaulted.”—FOUNTAINHALL’S *MS. Abstract of the Justiciary Record*. This woman was possessed of a considerable estate in her own right, being the daughter of Thomas M’Calzeane, Lord Cliftonhall, one of the senators of the College of Justice, who died in the year 1581; it appears, however, that there were doubts as to the legitimacy of her birth.—SPOTTISWOODE’S *Practicks*, p. 219. Her children were restored by act of parliament (1592) against the forfeiture, after paying five thousand marks to the donator, of escheat, and relinquishing the estate of Cliftonhall, which the king gave to Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno.

† “*Ad. contra* Barbara Napier, spouse to Archibald Douglas, burges of Edinburgh, for witchcraft, as consulting with Richard Grahame, a notorious necromancer, how to keip Dame Jean Lyon, Lady Angus, from vomiting when she was breiding hir barnes, and giving him 3 elles of bombezie for his paynes, and such other poynts of witchcraft, so that her ditty seems to me to be rather for seiking after witches and sorcerers, for knowing how to do things, than for being a witch herself. She was convict and burnt.”—FOUNTAINHALL’S *MS.* Hume of Godscroft, in his Account of Archibald, ninth Earl of Angus, says,—“His death (anno 1588) was ascribed to witchcraft; and one Barbary Nepair, in Edinburgh, wife to Archibald Douglas, of the house of Cashogle, was apprehended on suspicion, but I know not whether she was convicted of it or not; only it was reported that she was found guiltie, and that the execution was deferred because she was with childe, but afterwards, nobody insisting in the pursuit of her, she was set at libertie.”—It appears that Agnes Sampson was also concerned in the plot against the life of Angus, who, according to Spottiswoode, obstinately refused the aid of Richard Grahame, the wizard mentioned above, by whose skill he might have counteracted the charms of the witches.” “Anna Simson, (*i. e.* Agnes Sampson) a famous witch,” continues Godscroft, “is reported to have confessed at her death that a picture of waxe was brought to her, having A. D. written on it, which (as they said to her) did signifie Archibald Davidson, and shee not thinking of the Earl of Angus, whose name was Archibald Douglas, and might have been called Davidson, because his father’s name was David, did consecrate, or execrate it, after her forme, which, she said, if she had knowne to have represented him, shee would not have done it for all the world.” It appears wonderful enough, from the very suspicious intercourse between these hags and Lady Angus, (whose great-grandmother, Lady Glammis, seems to have been brought to the stake on more slender presumptions for witchcraft) that the countess herself escaped a criminal prosecution. She was

two last before-recited, were reputed for as civill honest women as anie that dwelled within the cittie of Edenbrough, before they were apprehended. Many other besides were taken, dwelling in Leith, who are detayned in prison untill his majesties further will and pleasure be knowne: of whose wicked dooings you shall particularly heare, which was as followeth:

“ This aforesaide Agnis Sampson, which was the elder witch, was taken and brought to Haliriud-House, before the king’s majestie, and sundry other of the nobilitie of Scotland, where she was straytly examined, but all the perswasions which the king’s majestie used to hir, with the rest of his counsell, might not provoke or induce her to confesse any thing, but stooode stiffely in the deniall of all that was layde to her charge; where upon they caused her to bee conveyed away unto prison, there to receive such torture as hath beene lately provided for witches in that country * * * * *

“ *Item.* The sayde Agnis Sampson was after brought againe before the king’s majestie and his counsell, and being examined of the meetings and detestable dealings of those witches, shee confessed that upon the night of Allholon-Even, shee was accompanied, as well with the persons aforesaide, as also with a great many other witches, to the number of two hundreth, and that all they together went to sea, each one in a riddle, or cive, and went in the same very substantially, with flaggons of wine, making merrie and drinking by the way in the same riddles or cives, to the kirke of North-Barrick, in Lowthian, and that after they had landed, tooke handes on the lande, and daunced this reill, or short daunce, singing all with one voice:—

“ Commer, goe ye before, commer, goe ye;
Gif ye will not goe before, commer, let me.

At which time shee confessed, that this Geillis Duncane did goe before them,

the widow of Robert Douglas, younger of Lochleven, when Lord Angus, after divorcing his second wife, a daughter of Lord Rothes, for adultery, married her in the year 1586. Having buried her second husband, her wealth attracted a third, Alexander Lindsay, afterwards Lord Spynie, a youthful favourite of King James the Sixth, who is said to have addressed the following very laconic admonitory epistle to Lindsay from Denmark:—“ Deir Sandie,—Wee are going on heir in the auld way, and verrie merrie. I’ll not forget yow whan I come hame; you sall be a lord. But mynd Jean Lyon, for her auld tout will mack yow a new horne.”

playing this reill or daunce upon a small trumpe, called a Jewe's trump, untill they entered into the Kerk of North Barrick.

“ These confessions made the king in a wonderfull admiration, and sent for the saide Geillis Duncane, who, upon the like trump, did play the saide daunce before the kinges majestie, who, in respect of the strangenes of these matters, tooke great delight to be present at their examinations. *Item*, the said Agnis Sampson confessed that the divell being then at North Barrick Kerke, attending their comming, in the habit or likenesse of a man, and seeing that they tarried over long, hee at their comming enjoyned them all to a pennance, which was, that they should kisse his buttockes, in sign of duety to him, which being put over the pulpit bare, every one did as he had enjoyned them; and having made his ungodly exhortations, wherein he did greatly inveigh against the King of Scotland, he received their oathes for their good and true service towards him, and departed; which done, they returned to sea, and so home againe.

“ At which time the witches demanded of the divell, Why he did beare such hatred to the king? who answered, by reason the king is the greatestemie hee hath in the world. All which their confessions and depositions are still extant upon record.

“ *Item*, The saide Agnes Sampson confessed before the king's majestie sundrie thinges, which were so miraculous and strange, as that his majestie saide they were all extreame lyars; whereat shee aunswered, shee would not wish his majestie to suppose her wordes to be false, but rather to beleve them, in that she would discover such matter unto him as his majestie should not any way doubt of.

“ And thereupon, taking his majestie a little aside, shee declared unto him the verie wordes which passed betweene the kinges majestie and his queene at Upslo, in Norway, the first night of mariage, with their answere ech to other; wherat the kinges majestie wondered greatly, and swore by the living God that he believed that all the devils in hell could not have discovered the same, acknowledging her words to be most true, and therefore gave the more credit to the rest that is before declared.

“ Touching this Agnis Sampson, she is the only woman who, by the divel's

perswasion, should have intended and put in execution the kinges majesties death in this manner.

“ She confessed that shee tooke a blacke toade, and did hang the same up by the heeles three daies, and collected and gathered the venom as it dropped and fell from it in an oister-shell, and kept the same venome close covered, untill she should obtaine anie parte or peece of foule linnen cloth that had appertained to the king's majestie, as shirt, handkercher, napkin, or any other thing, which shee practised to obtaine by meanes of one John Kers, who being attendant in his majesties chamber, desired him, for olde acquaintaunce betweene them, to helpe her to one, or a peece of such a cloth as is aforesaide, which thing the said John Kers denyed to help her to, saying hee could not helpe her unto it.

“ And the saide Agnis Sampson, by her depositions since her apprehension, saith, that if shee had obtained any one peece of linnen cloth which the king had worne and fowled, she had bewitched him to death, and put him to such extraordinary paines as if he had been lying upon sharp thorns and endes of needles.

“ Moreover, she confessed that at the time when his majestie was in Denmarke, shee being accompanied with the parties before specially named, tooke a cat and christened it, and afterward bound to each part of that cat the cheefest parte of a dead man, and severall joyntes of his bodie; and that in the night following, the said cat was convayed into the midst of the sea by all these witches, sayling in their riddles or cives, as is aforesaid, and so left the saide cat right before the towne of Leith, in Scotland; this doone, there did arise such a tempest in the sea, as a greater hath not bene seene, which tempest was the cause of the perishing of a boat or vessell comming over from the towne of Brunt Island to the towne of Leith, wherein was sundrie jewelles and rich giftes, which should have bene presented to the new queene of Scotland, at her majesties coming to Leith.

“ Againē it is confessed, that the said christened cat was the cause that the kinges majesties shippe, at his comming forth of Denmarke, had a contrarie winde to the rest of his shippes then being in his companie, which thing was most straunge and true, as the kinges majestie acknowledgeth; for when the

rest of the shippes had a faire and good winde, then was the winde contrarie and altogether against his majestie. And further, the sayde witch declared, that his majestie had never come safely from the sea, if his faith had not pre-vayled above their intentions.*

* Agnes Sampson, commonly called the wise wife of Keith, concerning whom Spottiswoode, p. 383, relates a story not confirmed by the record, confessed to the king himself, that on one occasion "the devil, in man's likeness, met her going out to the fields from her own house at Keith, betwixt five and six at even, being alone, and commanded her to be at North-Berwick Kirk the next night, to which place she came on horseback, conveyed by her good-son, called John Couper, and lighted at the kirk-yard, or a little before she came to it, about eleven hours at even. They danced along the kirk-yard, Geillie Duncan playing on a trumpe, (Jew's harp) and John Fian, muzzled, (masked) led the ring. The said Agnes and her daughter followed next; besides, there were Kate Gray, Robert Grierson, &c., with the rest of their kimmers, above 100 persons, whereof there were six men, and all the rest women. The women made first their courtesy to their master, and then the men; the men turning nine times widdershins about, and the women six times. John Fian blew up the kirk doors, and blew in the lights, which were like meikle black candles stiking round about the pulpit. The devil himself started up in the pulpit like a meikle black man, and calling the row, every one answered,—Here. Mr Robert Grierson being named, they all ran hirdie-girdie, and were angry, for it was promised that he should be called Robert the Comptroller, for the expriming of his name. "The devil then preached a sermon, after which they rifled three graves for magical cookery. Agnes got for her part a winding-sheet, and two joints. John Fian, *alias* Cunninghame, who, Agnes said, was ever nearest to the devil, *at his left elbock*, confessed that he was carried 'in an extasie' to the kirk at North-Berwick, where the devil preached to them, bidding them not spare to do evil; to eat, drink, and be merriye, for he should raise them all up gloriously at the last day; that Satan pointed out certain graves, which were opened, and he saw the women dismember the corpses with *gullies*. The devil taught them to baptize a cat, and throw it into the sea, calling *Hola!* which would raise a storm to shipwreck the king; and on John's attempting to catch a cat for that purpose, and she proving very nimble, he was carried about in the air after her in a wonderful manner. Also, on his majesty's return, Satan raised a mist, by throwing something like a foot-ball into the sea, and this was done that James might be cast upon the English shore. Fian also confessed, that earnestly wishing to be revenged on a neighbour of his, the devil, for the first time, appeared to him in white raiment, and told him, that if he would serve and adore him, he should never want for any thing, and be revenged on all his enemies; and that Satan threatened to desert him, and do him mischief when he was going to marry."—*Justiciary Record*. Agnes Sampson's indictment consists of 53 points, most of which concern her curing of diseases, ascertaining whether these were natural or devilish, brought on by witchcraft and elf-arrows, and using a prayer said to be devilish; "whilk prayer she learnt frae hir fadder," by which she foreknew if the person whom she was desired to cure would live or die; for if she stopt in repeating it, it was a token of the patient's death. The prayer she said was this:—

“As touching the aforesaide Doctor Fian, *alias* John Cunningham, the examination of his actes since his apprehension, declareth the great subteltie of the divell, and therefore maketh thinges to appeare the more miraculous; for being apprehended by the accusation of the saide Geillis Duncane aforesaid, who confessed he was their regester, and that there was not one man suffered to come to the divel's readings but onelie hee. The said doctor was taken and

I trow in Almighty God, that wrought baith heaven and earth, and all of nocht;
 Into his dearest son, Christ Jesus; into that comely Lord I trow
 Wes gotten of the Holy Ghaist, born of the Virgin Mary;
 Stepped to heaven, that all weill then, and sitts at his Father's right hand.
 He bad us come, and their to dome, both quick and dead to him conveyne;
 I trow also in the Haly Ghaist, in haly kirk my hope is maist;
 That haly ship wheir hallowers winns to ask forgiveness of their sinnes,
 And syne to ryse in flesch and bane, the life that never mair hes gane.
 Thou sayds Lord loved may ye be, that formed and made mankind of me;
 Thou cust me on the haly croce, thou lent me body, saull, and voce,
 And ordained me to heaven's blisse, wherfore I thank the Lord of this.
 That all your hallowers loved be, to pray to them to pray to me;
 And keep me from that fellon sea, and from the sin that saull would slay;
 Thou, Lord, for thy bitter passion, to keep me fra sin and worldly shame,
 And endless damnation, grant me the joy never will be gane.

Sweit Jesus Christus, Amen.

“*Item*, She went with the witch of Carreburn, and other witches, to the Kirk of Newton, and taking up dead folks and jointing them, made enchanted powders for witchcraft. *Item*, She went with other witches in a boat, the devil going before them like a rock of hay. *Item*, The devil, in the shape of a dog, gave her responses concerning her laird's recovery, and endeavoured to put awa ane of the ladies daughters. *Item*, She raised a universal great storm in the sea when the queen was coming to Scotland, and wrote a letter to that effect to a witch in Leith. *Item*, She used this prayer in healing of sicknesse:—

All kynds of ill that ever may be, in Christ's name I conjure thee,
 I conjure thee baith mare and lesse, with all the vertues of the messe,
 And right sa with the naills sa, that nailed Jesus and na ma,
 And right sa by the samen bluid that raiked our the ruthfull ruid,
 Furth of the flech and of the bane, and in the eird and in the stane,
 I conjure thee in God's name.”——

For more such like doggrel, see the Chapter “Anent some Prayers, Charms, and Aves, used in the Highlands,” in *Satan's Invisible World*, and *The Wonderful Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, 1613.

imprisoned, and used with the accustomed paine provided for those offences inflicted upon the rest, as is aforesaid.

“ First, by thrawing of his head with a rope, whereat he would confesse nothing.

“ Secondly, he was perswaded by faire meanes to confesse his follies, but that would prevaile as little.

“ Lastly, hee was put to the most severe and cruell paine in the world, called the bootes, who, after he had received three strokes, being inquired if he would confesse his damnable actes and wicked life, his toong would not serve him to speake; in respect whereof, the rest of the witches willed to search his toong, under which was founde two pinnes thrust up into the heade, whereupon the witches did say, now is the charme stinted, and shewed that those charmed pins were the cause he could not confesse any thing; then was he immediately released of the bootes, brought before the king, his confession was taken, and his own hand willingly set thereunto, which contained as followeth:

“ First, That at the generall meetings of those witches, he was always present: That he was clarke to all those that were in subjection to the divel's service bearing the name of witches: That alway hee did take their oathes for their true service to the divell, and that he wrote for them such matters as the divell still pleased to commaund him.

“ *Item*, Hee confessed that by his witchcraft hee did bewitch a gentleman dwelling neere to the Saltpans, where the said doctor kept schoole, onely for being enamoured of a gentlewoman whome hee loved himselfe; by meanes of which his sorcery, witchcraft, and divelish practices, hee caused the said gentleman that once in twenty-four howers he fell into a lunacie and madnes, and so continued one whole hower together; and for the veritie of the same hee caused the gentleman to bee brought before the king's majestie, which was uppon the twenty-third day of December last; and being in his majesties chamber, suddenly hee gave a great scritch, and fell into madnesse, sometimes bending himselfe, and sometime capring so directly up, that his heade did touch the seeling of the chamber, to the great admiration of his majestie, and others then present, so that all the gentlemen in the chamber were not able to hold him until they called in more helpe, who together bound him hand and foot; and suffering the saide gentleman to lie still untill his furie were past, he,

within an hower, came againe to himselfe, when being demaunded of the king's majestie, what he saw or did all that while? answered, That he had been in a sound sleepe.

“*Item*, The said Doctor did also confesse, that hee had used means sundry times to obtaine his purpose and wicked intent of the same gentlewoman, and seeing himselfe disappointed of his intention, he determined, by all wayes hee might, to obtaine the same, trusting by conjuring, witchcraft, and sorcerie, to obtaine it in this manner.”

The author proceeds to state, that the Doctor employed one of his scholars, a brother of the young lady, to procure three of her hairs, by which he might bewitch her to his wicked purposes, giving the boy a piece of conjured paper wherein to deposit them; but some suspicious circumstances alarmed the mother, “by reason she was a witch of herself, and was very inquisitive of the boy to understand his intent, and the better to know the same, did beate him with sundrie stripes, whereby he discovered the truth unto her. The mother, therefore, being well practised in witchcraft, did thinke it most convenient to meete with the Doctor in his owne arte, and thereupon took the paper from the boy, wherein hee should have put the same haire, and went to a young heyfer which never had borne calfe, and with a paire of sheeres clipped off three haire from the udder of the cow, and wrapt them in the same paper, which shee againe delivered to the boy, then willing him to give the same to his said maister, which he immediately did.

“The schoolmaister, so soone as he had received them, thinking them indeed to be the maid's haire, went straight and wrought his arte upon them; but the Doctor had no sooner doone his intent to them but presently the heyfer cow, whose haire they were indeede, came unto the doore of the church wherein the schoolemaister was, into the which the heyfer went, and made towards the schoolemaister, leaping and dauncing upon him, and following him forth of the church, and to what place soever he went, to the great admiration of all the townesmen of Saltpans, and many other who did beholde the same.

“The report whereof made all men imagine that he did worke it by the divell, without whome it could never have beene so sufficiently effected; and thereupon the name of the said Doctor Fian (who was but a very yoong man)

began to growe so common among the people of Scotland, that he was secretly nominated for a notable conjurer.

“ All which although in the beginning he denied, and would not confesse, yet having felt the pain of the bootes, (and the charme stinted, as aforesayd,) he confessed all the aforesaid to be most true, without producing anie witnesses to justifie the same, and therupon, before the king's majesty, he subscribed the sayd confessions with his owne hande, which, for truth, remaineth upon record in Scotland.

“ After that the depositions and examinations of the sayd Doctor Fian, *alias* Cuningham, was taken, as already is declared, with his own hand willingly set thereunto, hee was, by the master of the prison, committed to ward, and appointed to a chamber by himself, where, forsaking his wicked wayes, acknowledging his most ungodly lyfe, shewing that he had too much folowed the allurements and entisements of Sathan, and fondly practised his conclusions by conjuring, witchcraft, inchantment, sorcerie, and such like, hee renounced the devill and all his wicked workes, vowed to leade the life of a Christian, and seemed newly converted towards God.

“ The morrow after, upon conference had with him, he granted that the devill had appeared unto him in the night before, appareled all in blacke, with a white wand in his hande, and that the devill demanded of him if hee would continue his faithfull service, according to his first oath and promise made to that effect, whome (as hee then said) he utterly renounced to his face, and said unto him, in this manner, ‘ Avoide, Satan, avoide, for I have listened too much unto thee, and by the same thou hast undone me, in respect whereof I utterly forsake thee.’ To whom the devill answered, ‘ That once, ere thou die, thou shalt be mine; and with that, (as he sayd) the devill brake the white wand, and immediately vanished foorth of his sight.’

“ Thus all the daie this Doctor Fian continued verie solitarie, and seemed to have a care of his owne soule, and would call uppon God, shewing himselfe penitent for his wicked life; neverthelesse, the same night, hee found such meanes that hee stole the key of the prison doore and chamber in the which he was, which, in the night, hee opened and fled awaie to the Saltpans, where hee was alwayes resident, and first apprehended; of whose sodaine departure, when the king's majestie had intelligence, hee presently commanded diligent

inquirie to bee made for his apprehension ; and for the better effecting thereof, hee sent publicke proclamations into all partes of his lande to the same effect, by meanes of whose hot and harde pursuite, he was agayn taken and brought to prison, and then being called before the king's highnes, he was re-examined as well touching his departure, as also touching all that had before happened.

“ But this Doctor, notwithstanding that his owne confession appeareth remaining in recorde under his owne hande-writing, and the same thereunto fixed in the presence of the king's majestie, and sundrie of his councell, yet did he utterly denie the same.

“ Whereupon the kinges majestie perceiving his stubbourne wilfulnesse, conceived and imagined that in the time of his absence hee had entered into newe conference and league with the devill, his master, and that hee had beene agayne newly marked, for the which he was narrowly searched, but it coulde not in anie wice be founde ; yet, for more tryall of him to make him confesse, hee was commaunded to have a most straunge torment, which was done in this manner following :—

“ His nailes upon all his fingers were riven and pulled off with an instrument called in Scottish a turkas, which in England wee call a payre of pincers, and under everie nayle there was thrust in two needles over, even up to the heads ; at all which tormentes, notwithstanding, the Doctor never shronke anie whit, neither woulde he then confesse it the sooner for all the tortures inflicted upon him.

“ Then was hee, with all convenient speed, by commandement, convaied againe to the torment of the bootes, wherein hee continued a long time, and did abide so many blowes in them, that his legges were crusht and beaten together as small as might bee, and the bones and flesh so bruised, that the blood and marrow spouted forth in great abundance, whereby they were made unserviceable for ever ; and notwithstanding all these grievous paines and cruell tormentes, hee would not confesse anie things ; so deeply had the devill entered into his heart, that hee utterly denied all that which he had before avouched, and would saie nothing therunto but this, that what he had done and sayde before, was onely done and sayde for fear of paynes which he had endured.

“ Upon great consideration, therefore, taken by the king's majestie and his

counsell, as well for the due execution of justice upon such detestable malefactors, as also for example sake, to remayne a terrour to all others hereafter, that shall attempt to deale in the lyke wicked and ungodlye actions, as witchcraft, sorcery, conjuration, and such lyke, the sayde Doctor Fian was soone after arraigned, condemned, and adjudged by the law to die, and then to bee burned, according to the lawe of that lande, provided in that behalfe. Whereupon hee was put into a carte, and being first strangled, he was immediately put into a great fire, being readie provided for that purpose, and there burned in the Castle-hill of Edenbrough, on a Saterdaie, in the ende of Januarie last past, 1591.

“ The rest of the witches which are not executed, remayne in prison till farther triall, and knowledge of his majesties pleasure.”

Francis Earl of Bothwell, whose restless spirit gave King James so much uneasiness, was accused by these witches of consulting them respecting his sovereign's fate, and of having employed their art in raising the storms at sea which endangered the queen's life, and impeded James's return from Denmark. His imprisonment and subsequent enterprises are well known. But we learn from Sandys, that in his last retreat the earl himself was esteemed a skilfull necromancer. Talking of Calabria, in the year 1610, he says,—“ Here a certain Calabrian, hearing that I was an Englishman, came to me, and would needs persuade me that I had insight in magick, for that Earl Bothwell was my countryman, who lives at Naples, and is in those parts famous for suspected necromancy.”*

* See Mr Robert Bruce's Sermons, for a curious discourse preached at Edinburgh, 9th November, 1589.—“ At the which time the Earle Bothwell made his publicke repentance in the church,”—Part of the text probably alludes to his magical propensities,—“ and put away foolish and unlearned questions, knowing that they ingender strife.”—Second Epistle to Tim. c. ii. His son, whom Lilly styles Lord Bothwell, though the title is said never to have been restored, seems to have inherited his father's turn for metaphysical intercourse. Lilly, talking of one Evans, an astrologer, and a Welchman, a drunkard, and seldom without a black eye, who principally subsisted on the sale of antimonial cups, says,—“ Some time before I became acquainted with him, he then living in the Minorities, was desired by the Lord Bothwell, and Sir Kenelm Digby, to show them a spirit. He promised so to do; the time came, and they were all in the body of the circle, when, lo, upon the sudden, after some time of invocation, Evans was taken from out the room, and carried into the field near Battersea Causeway, close to the Thames.

In the "Faithful Narrative of the Great and Miraculous Victory obtained by George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, and Francis Hay, Earl of Errol, Catholic Noblemen, over Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyle, Lieutenant, at Strathaven, in the North of Scotland, 3d October, 1594," Argyle is accused of having been "accompanied by a noted witch, on purpose to discover the property and hidden treasures of the inhabitants, by her incantations; which," says the narrator, "notwithstanding they injured others, did us no harm, for when she raised a thick mist to confound our eyes, as we absolutely saw, it immediately failed, there being something in our camp, she said, after she was taken, that greatly impeded her exertions, &c. The enchantress of whom I have spoken, delivered oracles to Argyle worthy a Pythian spirit; one of her prophecies was, that on the following Friday, which was the day after the battle, Argyle's harp should be played in Buchan; and the bagpipe, which is the principal military instrument of the Scottish mountaineers, should sound in Strathbogie, Huntly's seat. Nor were her vaticinations entirely vain; for both the harp and bagpipe sounded in Strathbogie and Turef; but the general was not there to enjoy their most agreeable music; neither could her sorcery foresee the death that awaited her after the victory." A few years posterior to this event, the celebrated wife of Captain James Stewart, Earl of Arran, was still more grossly deceived by the hypothetical predictions of these treacherous slaves to the false spirit. "She got a response from the witches, that she should be the greatest woman in Scotland, and that her husband should have the highest head in that kingdom. Both which fell out; for she died, being all swelled out in an extraordinary manner; and he, riding to the south, was

Next morning a country man going by to his labour, and espying a man in black cloaths, came unto him and awaked him, and asked him, how he came there? Evans by this understood his condition, enquired where he was, how far from London, and in what parish he was? which, when he understood, he told the labourer he had been late at Battersea the night before, and by chance was left there by his friends. Sir Kenelm Digby, and the Lord Bothwell, went home without any harm, came next day to hear what was become of him; just as they, in the afternoon, came into the house, a messenger came from Evans to his wife, to come to him at Battersea. I enquired, upon what account the spirit carried him away? who said, he had not, at the time of invocation, made any suffumigation, at which the spirits were vexed."—*Life and Times*, p. 32.

pursued by the Lord Torthoral, (called Douglas,*) whose whole family the said Captain James intended to have extirpated, and was killed, and his head carried on the point of a spear till it was brought to a church-yard. After which time the Hamiltons were restored to their own estate of Arran."—*Staggering State*, p. 9. The last of this branch of the family of Ochiltree was William Lord Ochiltree, who died at the University of Edinburgh in the year 1675, aged sixteen. He is mentioned in a MS. History of the Lairds of Garthland, as "the boy that was so celebrate for his vein and genius of poetry;" but his fame seems to have been nearly as brief as his existence.

On the 24th of June, 1596, John Stewart, master of Orkney, was indicted for consulting with Alison Balfour, a witch, for the destruction of Patrick Earl of Orkney, his brother, by poison. He gave in a written declaration by way of defence, stating, among other things, that no regard ought to be paid to the confession of the witch, as it was extorted by various torments. The following document is produced to confirm this assertion:—" *Apud* Kirkwall, upon the Heding Hill of the same, the saxtene day of December, 1594, in presence of Thomas ———, minister at Kirkwall; John Stewart, elder there; Mr Gilbert Bod, minister at Holm; Alexander Somervall; John M'Kenzie; David Monteith, servitor to my Lord Erll of Orkney; and Gilbert Papple; with sundry utheris; the qlk day, in presens of me, notary publict, underwritten and witnes foirsaidis, Alisoun Balfour being condempnit for sindrie alledgit poynts of witchcraft, and lied to the hill to the place of execution, she, in presens of me, and witness foirsaidis, declarit and tuke upon hir saull and conscience, as she wald answer at the day of judgement, she wes als innocent, and wald die als innocent of ony poynt of witchcraft as ane bairne new borne; and als being inquiryrit, upon hir saull and conscience, to declair quhat sche knew to the auld Laird of Stenhous, and to quhat effect he gaif to hir the wax that was

* Sir James Douglas of Parkhead, styled Lord Tothorwald, as having married the heiress of that barony, was afterwards run through the body, on the High Street of Edinburgh, by a nephew of Captain James Stewart, and died without uttering one word. On clearing away the rubbish which till lately covered the pavement of the Chapel at Holyrood-House, his tombstone was found, with this mutilated inscription:—"Heir lyes ane nobil and potent Lord James Douglas—and Cairlell and Torthorall, wha mariet Daine Elizabeth Cairlell, air and heretrix yr of, wha was slaine in Edinburgh ye 14 day of July, in ye zeir of God 1608—vas slaine in 48."

in hir purs, quha then presentlie declarit, be hir pairt of Paradyce, and as sche wald answer to the levinge Lord, that sche knew na thing to the auld Laird of Stenhous bot honestie; and that his lady being subjectt to the colick, notour to hir, willit the laird to gif heir ane peace walx, a four zeir bygane syne, to mak ane implaister, to be imployit be him to his ladie for remedie of hir said diseis, and na utherwayes, as she wald answer to the livinge God of heaven and earth; and said than playnlie, that sche wald die with the same confession. Lykeas sche than diet constantlie therewith; and sicklyke being enquyrit and accusit be the persoun of Orphir, gif sche wald abyde be hir first deposition maid in the Castell of Kirkwall, upon the — day of December instant? quha answerit, that the tyme of hir first deposition sche was tortorit, and severall tymes in the caspieclaws, and sindrie tymes taken out of them deid, and out of all remembrance either of guid or evill; as lykewayes hir guidman being in the stokes, hir son torturit in the buits, and hir daughter put in the pilniewinks, wherwith sche and they were swa kepit and tormentit, that pairtlie to eschew ane grittar torment and pownischment; and upon promis of hir lyffe and guid deids be the said person, falslie agains hir saul and consciens sche mayd the confession, and na otherwayes; for the qlk she askit the Lord mercy and forgivenes, and constantlie deitt yratt.”—*Criminal Record*.

In such diabolical times, it is not surprising that King James set himself to write his *Dæmonologie*, in which he sagely discovers the whole mystery of witchcraft. From its characteristic style, this tract is very amusing. He says, that the reason why women are more addicted to magick than men, “is easie, for as that sex is frailer then man is, so is it easier to be intrapped in these grosse snares of the divell, as was over-well prooved to be trew, by the serpent’s deceiving of Eve at the beginning, which makes him the homelier with that sexe sensine.”*

* The persecution of unfortunate old women by James and the clergy was somewhat relaxed after the detection of an impostor, one Margaret Atkin, who pretended to know a witch at first sight, affirming that all of that sort had a secret mark in their eyes.—SPOTTISWOODE, p. 448. The mark of some was the likeness of a horse in the eye.—*Discovery of Witchcraft*. Witches and wizards, says Bodin, cannot look directly upon a man’s face; nor are they able to shed tears, “threaten and torture them as ye please, while first they repent; (God not permitting them to dissemble their obstinacie in so horrible a crime,) albeit the women-kind especially be able

The Earl of Gowrie, whose mysterious attempt to seize upon the king at Perth, has so much puzzled historians, was exceedingly addicted to magick, as were others of his family. The word, *Tetragrammaton*, written on parchment, and worn about his person, prevented the blood from flowing, even after he was dead.* From the foolish conduct of the whole conspiracy, it is very probable that Gowrie laid greater stress upon such charms than a man of his reputation for abilities can easily be supposed to have done, even in that superstitious age.

About the time of this conspiracy, the devil, in *propria persona*, is said to

otherways to shed teares at every light occasion, when they will, yea, although it were dissemblingly, like the crocodiles."—*Dæmonologie*, book iii. Those who cured diseases had generally St Catharine's wheel printed in the roof of their mouths, or in some other part about them.—*Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. i. p. 335.

* This parchment was preserved long after Gowrie's death; and from what Lord Cromartie says in his Account of the Conspiracy, may still be extant;—by the way, Lord Cromartie himself might reasonably have been suspected of possessing some magical secret to secure love; for at the advanced age of seventy, he married a young and beautiful countess in her own right, a widow, wealthy, and in universal estimation. The following distich was composed on the occasion, which afforded abundant matter for waggers to the lampoon writers of the time:—

"Thou sonsie auld carl, the world hes not thy like,
For ladies fa' in love with thee, tho' thou be ane auld tyke."

Another indignant poet exclaims,—“I swear, by all the gods, there's witchcraft in't.”—*MS. Lampoons, penes me*. Lord Cromartie erected a brazen statue to the honour of his beautiful wife, with a Latin inscription, beginning thus:—

"Pulchra Venus, Pallas sapiens, et casta Diana,
Trina sub hoc uno cernitur ære Dea," &c.

And dedicated his Synopsis Apocalyptica to her daughter, by a former husband, Margaret Countess of Northesk, styling himself, “her ladyship's most obedient servant, and most affectionate father, Cromartie.” This extraordinary old man, when upwards of eighty, retired, says Swift, to his estate in the Highlands, alledging that he would pass a few years there, in order to lay up money to spend in London. His son, the second earl, was in his father's lifetime tried before the Court of Justiciary for the murder of Elias Poirer, Sieur de la Roche, at Leith, and acquitted; but the death of the Frenchman seems to have been avenged by the master of Tarnbet's lady, who, in the year 1693, was divorced from her husband for her gallantries with Monsieur Lavallette, a native of France, and others.—*Commissary Court Record*. It is to be observed, that this frail fair one did not carry on the family. N. B. A horn on a spirit's head signifieth that he is a count.—*Cornelius Agrippa, of Occult Philosophy*.

have tempted a lady near Edinburgh to murder her husband ; but the fact rests only upon ballad authority. John Kincaid of Warriston having offended his wife, by beating her, as the Criminal Record states, she contrived to strangle him, with the help of her nurse and a man-servant. The quarrel is given differently in the song :—

“ He spak a word in jest,
Her answer wasna good ;
He threw a plate at her face,
Made it a’ gush out o’ blood.”

The devil appeared shortly after, and taught her how to be avenged of this intolerable rudeness :—

“ The foul thief knotted the tether,
She lifted his head on hie,
The nourice drew the knot
That gar’d Laird Warriston die.”

Jamieson’s Ballads.

Birrel, in his Diary, notes,—“ July 2, John Kincaid of Warristone murdered by his awin wyff, and servant-man ; (this perhaps is the *foul thief*, or devil, of the ballad,) and her nurische being also upon the conspiracy, the said gentilwoman being apprehendit, scho was tane to the Girth-Crosse, upon the 5th day of Julii, and her heid struck fra her bodie, at the Cannagait fit, quha diet very patiently ; her nurische was brunt at the same time, at 4 hours in the morning, the 5 of Junii.” In the MS. Abridgment of the Justiciary Record, is this passage :—“ 26 June, 1604,—William Weir, sometime servand to the Laird of Dunypace, delaytit of art and part of the cruel murder of John Kincaid of Warriston, in anno 1600. The fact of this barbarous murder is thus : Jean Livingston, spouse to the said John, having conceived a deadlie hatred towards her husband for alledged maltreatment, did send Janet Murdo, her nurse, to the said William Weir, and implored him to murder her husband, who accordingly was brought to Warriston, and about midnight they came into the room where he was lying in bed, and being awakened with the noise, called to them ; whereupon the said Weir running to him, and with a severe stroke with his hand struck him on the vein-organ, (*i. e.* the flank-vein,) and

thereby he fell out of his bed on the floor, whereupon Weir struck him on the bellie with his feet, and thereafter gripped him by the throat, and held him till he strangled him to death. He was sentenced to be broken alive on the row, or wheel, and be exposed thereon for 24 hours; and thereafter the said row, with the body on it, to be placed between Leith and Warriston, till orders be given to burrie the body." "He was broken," says Birrell, "on ane cart-wheel, with ane coultter of ane pleuche, in the hand of the hangman;"—a cruel punishment, seldom to be met with in the criminal records of Scotland. Two of the Regent Lennox's murderers, indeed, were thus executed by the Earl of Mar, "quha cawsit Bell and Calder to be publickly broken upon the row, and thus pynit to the death."—*Historie of King James the Sext*, p. 154.*

* Lord Fountainhall, talking of Mrs Nimmo, a daughter of Hamilton of Grange, who murdered Lord Forrester in the year 1679, says, that Mrs Kincaid was of the family of Grange; but it appears that her maiden name was Livingstone. He also mentions another murderess of the same race, Mrs Bedford, whose trial occurs in the Criminal Register, 17th May, 1665. She is there styled, Margaret Hamilton, relict of Robert Bedford, Englishman, merchant at Leith, and found guilty of murder, and of an unlawful commerce with Geills Tyre, Englishman, surveyor in Leith, then prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. "And the better to palliate the crime, under the colour of hospitality, the said Geills did take up his lodging in the said Robert his house, and was there dyeted, pretending he could not be so well accomodate elsewhere; and the said Geills did write in his books a note of the birth of these children which were his own, and of the death of such of them as deceast. And the said Geills having gone to London, she did entertain amorous correspondence with him by letters, under borrowd names, and having estranged her affection to her husband, she contrived his murder, and for that end employed a servant to buy poison; and that having failed, she did on a night bind his hands when he was in bed, upon design to murder him in his sleep; and that having also failed, so on another night, about 11 o'clock, when he was a-bed with some of his children, she did surprise and cruelly murder and strangle him; and thereafter, with the cannon-bullet that she used to break her coals, did give him many deadly stroaks upon the head, and thereby killed him outright. And to palliate the murder, she resolved to bury him soon after his decease, and if the wound should be discovered, to give it out that he had it by a fall on the stair, and did take off his bloody shirt and conceal it in the cellar among the coalls, and put clean linnens upon him." Mrs Bedford, upon hearing the indictment and her former confession read, acknowledged her guilt with a flood of tears, and repeated this after the jury were sworn, and the bloody clothes and cannon-ball produced. Finally, some witnesses were called, who declared, "That they saw Bedford dead, wounded as is lybelled; and that they saw some teats of hair, and other tokens, which had been gifted to the pannel by Geills Tyre, taken out of a little coffer in her custody."—*Criminal Record*. She was condemned to be beheaded; and her lover, the presumptions of whose guilt were very strong, narrowly escaped torture, through the scruples of the Privy-council.—*Sir G. Mackenzie's Works*, vol. ii. p. 261.

On the 21st of July, 1603, James Reid, in Corstorphin, was convicted of sorcery, and afterwards burnt. He several times at Bannie Craigs, and on Corstorphine Muir, met the devil, (frequently in the likeness of a horse) who taught him to use south-running water as a healing charm, and enchanted flints, to the prejudice of many. Two years afterwards, Patrick Lawrie, another sorcerer, was committed to the flames on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, for having been at sundry meetings with Sathan on Loudon-hill, where the fiend gave Patrick a hair-belt, at one end of which "appeared the similitude of four fingers and a thumb, not far different from the claws of the devil,"* for destroying the crops of certain farmers during the space of ten years; for curing an *incurable* disease; and finally, for being "ane common and notorious sorcerer, warlock, and abuser of the people."

In the year 1607, Isobel Grierson was burnt, and her ashes scattered in the wind, after being convicted of going one night into the house of Adam Clark, in Prestonpans, in the likeness of his own cat, accompanied with a mighty rabble of cats, which, by their noise, dreadfully affrighted Adam, his wife, and maid-servant, the last of whom, the devil, in the shape of a black man, dragged up and down by the hair of the head. Grierson was also found guilty of bewitching Mr Brown of Prestonpans, by throwing an enchanted *tailzie of beef* at his door, and of causing the devil to disturb his household for the space of half-a-

* "But, hear ye, Douce, because ye may meet me
In many shapes to-day, where'er you spy
This browed belt, with characters, 'tis I;
A gypsy lady, and a right beldam,
Wrought it by moonshine for me, and star light,
Upo' your granam's grave, that very night
We earth'd her in the shades; when our dame Hecate
Made it her gaing-night over the kirk-yard,
When all the bark and parish tykes set at her,
While I sat whyrland of my brazen spindle:
At every twisted thrid my rock let fly
Unto the sewster, who did sit me nigh,
Under the town turn-pike, which ran each spell,
She stitched in the work, and knit it well;
See ye take tent to this, and ken your mother."

JOHNSON'S *Sad Shepherd*.

year, by appearing every night at his fire-side in the similitude of an *infant bairn*. She herself frequently paid the family a visit in the shape of a cat, and rudely besprinkled Brown's wife, and various parts of the house, but once being called upon by name, vanished away. Brown died of a disease inflicted by her. Another wierd sister, of great note, suffered death in a few months after Isabel; this was Barbara Paterson, who was found guilty of sorcery; of anointing one John Brown, who was sick, with green salves made of herbs, and giving him drenches, and ordering him to fall down upon his knees three several times, "to ask his health at all living witches above or under the eard, in the name of Jesus." She also gave him "nine pickles of rowan-tree," (nine berries of the mountain-ash, I presume) to wear about his person. She *abused the people* with water brought from the Dow-loch, near Drumlangrig, "putting the said loch water into a stoup, and causing the patients lift it up, and say, 'I lift this stoup in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for the health of them for whom it was lifted;' which words were to be repeated three nine times. *Item*, she washed the patient's sark in the loch, and left it there, affirming, that if any fowl came out of the loch, the patients would recover; but if nothing came out, then they should die.* *Item*, she used this charm for curing of cattle. I charm ye for arrow-shot, for eye-shot, for tongue-shot, for liver-shot, for lung-shot, for cat-shot, all the maist; in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

Isobel Young, spouse to George Smith, portioner in East Barnes, was tried

* In the year 1622, Margaret Wallace was executed, principally for inflicting and curing diseases. She consulted with Christian Grahame, a witch, to remove a disorder "from Margaret Muir, a bairne; to which end they went about 12 at night to a yard, and there used their devilish charms, whereby the disease was removed from the bairne." The year after, Thomas Greave, a wizard, was burnt for curing diseases, by making sick persons pass several times through hanks of yarn, washing their shirts in south-running water, and the like. Some obscure hints in the MS. respecting the criminal's execution, would infer that the minister of the parish was as guilty as himself. In the records of the kirk-session at Eastwood, a woman is *delated* for using charms at Hallow-even. She confessed,—“that, at the instigation of an old woman from Ireland, she brought in a pint of water from a well which brides and burials pass over, and dipt her shirt into it, and hung it before the fire; that she either dreamed, or else there came something and turned about the chair on which her shirt was, but she could not well see what it was.” Her sentence was a rebuke before the congregation. See Burns' Poems, for an admirable detail of the charms which enliven Hallowe'en.

for witchcraft in the year 1629. Some articles of the indictment are very singular. "*Item*, she went in a very tempestuous night, when the milne horses were scarcely able to ride it, over the water to her house, and fra her house back againe to the milne, when there was no bridge neither of stone nor timber over the water, unwet. *Item*, she destroyed the cattle of William Meslet, in great suddainty, and that by taking off her curch at the barne-door, and running about thrice within the barne widdershins. *Item*, she resett Christian Grinton, a witch, in her house, whom the pannel's husband saw one night to come out at ane hole in the roof, in the likeness of a cat, and theirafter transforme herself in her own likeness; whereupon the pannel told her husband, that it should not faire weill with him, which fell out accordingly; for next day he fell down dead at the pleuch, and was brought hame by the pannel in William Meslet's chaire. *Item*, she took a sickness off her husband, and laid it on his brother's son, who came to the barne, and saw the firloft running about, and the stuff popling on the floor; and he ran upon the pannel with a sword to kill her for bewitching him, and strak the lintell of the door in following; the mark whereof is to be seen yet, and that he died thereof.* *Item*, her apparition was seen in John Bryson's stable, under night, riding on ane meir, seen by David Nisbet, servand; and since, by her sorcerie, the meir cast her foal, and died. *Item*, for thir forty years, for curing of hir bestiall, she has been in use to take a quick ox, with a cat, and a great quantity of salt, and to burie the ox and cat quick with the salt, in a deep hole, as a sacrifice to the devil.† The truth of this article," continues the abridger of the Cri-

* "Answers, this article is both improbable and impossible, because it is offered to be proven, that two years interveaned between the sicknesses. Its a strange senselessness in the dit-tay to say that sickness should be laid beneath a barne-door, seeing sickness cannot be inherent in any thing save a living creature. There is a like fable reported in Ariosto. As to the dancing of the firloft, it's certain that it was a distemperator in the subject, *id est*, in the person's brain that saw it, for he was mad. As to the mark on the lintell, denies onie sic mark; as to his death, offers to prove that he was cured by John Purves, chirurgion, lived eleven years after, and had children."

† In a Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcrafts, by George Giffard, minister of God's word at Maldon, 1603, is a story of a witch who employed an imp in the shape of a cat to destroy three hogs and a cow belonging to a farmer whom she hated.—"The man suspecting, burnt a pig alive, and, as she sayd, her cat would never go thither any more." By the way, it

minal Record, "was, that their bestiall being diseased of the routting evil, the pannel's husband was going to the Laird of Lee to borrow his curing-stane; whereupon their servant, James Nisbet, told them that he had seen bestiall cured by taking a quick ox, and burying him in a pitt, and by calling the rest of the bestiall over that place; whereupon they practised it once or twice, and were not the better; whereupon they went to the said Laird of Lee's. The ladie refused the stone, but gave flaggons of water wherein it was steiped, which giving the bestiall to drink, in their apprehension it cured them.* And for using the foresaid remedy, her husband (but never the pannel) was ordained by the Presbytery of Dunbar to make satisfaction for the scandalous fact, and to divest others theirfra. It is the ordinar practice of husbandmen of the best sort, who were never suspect nor dilated of witchcraft, in many parts of the kingdom."

does not seem to have been so much the custom of the devil to give imps (or *puckrels*, as they are called in this book,) to his northern as to his English subjects. In the same black-letter Dialogue, one of the speakers says,—“ I was of another jurie since, and there was a woman indicted for a witch, but not for killing any man or childe. There came in five or sixe against her; the first was an old woman, and she sayd she had displeased her, as she thought; and within two or three nights after, as she sate by her fire, there was a thing like a toade, or like some little crabbe-fish, which did creepe upon the harth; she tooke a beesome and swept it away, and suddenly her bodie was griped. Another fel out with her, as she said, and her hennes began to die up, untill she burnt one hen alive. A third man came in, and he said she was once angrie with him; he had a dun cow which was tyed up in a house, for it was in winter; he feared that some evil would follow, and, for his life, he could not come in where she was, but he must needs take up her tayle, and kisse under it. Two or three others came in, and said she was, by common fame, accounted a witch. We found her guiltie, and she was condemned to prison, and to the pillorie, but stood stiffe in it that she was no witch.”

* The celebrated Lee Penny, as it is commonly termed, is a small red stone, set in silver, said to have been brought from the Holy Land by Lockhart of Lee, who accompanied the Earl of Douglas when carrying King Robert the Bruce's heart to Jerusalem. Lockhart extorted it from a Paynim lady, whose husband he had taken prisoner, and who, while paying the stipulated ransom, dropt this stone from her purse. On her snatching it up with great precipitation, the wily knight divined its value, and would not relieve the infidel till the amulet was added to his price. It was long deemed a sovereign remedy for all sorts of diseases, and of late times, is said to have cured a lady of condition who was labouring under the hydrophobia. In former ages, these amulets were very common, though few have attained the celebrity of the Lee Penny. In a list of gold and jewels stolen out of the Earl of Marischall's house of Benholme (1624) by Sir Alexander Strachan of Thornton, Dame Margaret Ogilby, Countess of Marischall, his spouse, and Robert Strachan, doctor of physick, is “ane jasper stane for steiming of blood, estimat to 500 French crownes.”—*Criminal Record*.

The next unfortunate person who suffered death at Edinburgh for sorcery, was Alexander Drummond, "indweller in the Kirktown of Auchterarder, as curing thereby of frenzies, the falling evil, persons mad, distracted, or posset with fearfull apparitions, as St Antonie's fire, the sickness *noli me tangere*, cancers, worms, glengores, with other uncouth diseases, upon many persons; also for burieng a quick ox for effectuating his sorcerie, and of pleuch-irons upon merches betwixt two lairds' lands, for curing of madness; also for having a familiar spirit attending him neir this fifty years. He confesses that such and such cures he did, but denies any incantation or charme therein. For verification of the dittay, produced his own depositiones, then the depositiones of an hundred of witnesses; whereupon, convict and burnt." In the same year, Catharine Oswald, spouse to Robert Atchison, in Niddrie, was brought to triall for being *habite and repute* a witch, and defamed as such by Elizabeth Stevenson, *alias* Toppock, who was burnt for the crime, hersell an intimate ally of the said Catharine. Toppock declared, that Oswald and she "were together in that great storm on the borrowing days, in anno 1625, on the Brae of the Saltpans;" and Alexander Hamilton, "a known warlock, even now under triall, depones, that the pannel took him one night to a den betwixt Niddrie and Edmiston, where the devill had trysted hir, where he appeared first to them like a foall, and then like a man, and appointed a new dyet at Saltcoit Muire. The fourth article of indictment beirs, that Margaret Threip-land, coming to the pannell fra John Clerk, hir master, to bid hir take away hir kaill that she had growand in Straiton, because the said John had taken the milne and yard lyand thereto; she replied, not only that she would not take away hir kaill, but also that she hoped in God that nothing should grow in that yard thereafter; according to whilk cursed *prediction*, for four years after, by hir sorcerie, neither kaill, lint, hemp, nor other graine, would grow therein, though double laboured and sowed. The fifth article beirs, that Thomas Scot, peuderer in Edinburgh, going on a morning to a mercat, met the pannell at the Pepper-milne burne, who said to him that he looked as good weill like as when Bessie Dobie was living; and parting with her, he immediatly, by hir sorcerie, fell so strangely sick, that he was able to go no furdur; and being carried on a coal-horse to Newbigging, he lay there till the morrow, at whilk time a wife came in to him, and told him he was forspoken. The sixth

article beirs, that the pannell being offended at Adam Fairbairn and his wife, dwelling in St Catharine's, threatened that she would be avenged upon them; conform whereto, she made their two kye run mad and rammish to deid, and also made a gentleman's bairne that they had a-fostering run wood and die. Seventh article beirs, that the pannell dwelland under William Heriot, in Lasswade, delt with the said William's master to have taine his rouse over his head; but not prevailing, she removed hir selfe and hir family fra that place, threatning William, and telling him that he should rew hir flitting; whereupon, immediately the time of hir flitting, William's kill, full of cornes, took fire through her sorcerie. *Item*, his wife, in a frantick humour, drowned hirselfe, and one of his horse shot to deid. Eight article beirs, that John Nidrie, servitor to Patrick Heart, in the Cannogate, being 22 weeks sick of the trembling fever, came home to his mother in Edmistoune, where the neighbours regretting his dollour, by came the pannell, and asking the cause of their lamentation, she told them and him, that if they would follow hir counsell, she would cure him soon,—which was, that he should pluck up a nettle by the root, and lay it on the hiegate side, and stale upon it three severall mornings, ere the sun rose, and sie that he ware back at the house ere it rose; whilk direction he following, it cured him, which can be imputed to no virtue in the nettle, or using of it, but only to the pannell's enchantment."

Oswald's lawyers entered into very prolix and learned defences, alledging, that as to the last article of accusation, "*esto* it had been so, the most it would infer would be a superstition, but no witchcraft; for what sorcerie is it to pluck up a nettle by the root, and to lay it down, and stale thereupon? specially seeing the dittay mentions no words to have been uttered by the pannell for charming the saids nettle, which tho' is used by them to be done; yea, for a recipe to the sorenesse of eyes, called the styen, its ordinar to cause them stale in such and such parts, whereby they imagine the effect will follow." Nevertheless, Catharine was found guilty, "the advocate for the instruction of the assyze producing the declaration of two witnesses, that being in the tolbuith, saw Mr John Aird, minister,* put a prin in the pannell's shoulder,

* The clergy were sometimes severely punished for their zeal in the detection of witchcraft. One accusation against Margaret Wallace, (burnt 1622) was, "that being conveyed before the

(where she carries the devill's mark) up to the heid, and no bluid followed theiron, nor she shrinking thereat; which was againe done in the justice-depute his own presence."

Shortly after Catharine's execution, one of her intimates, a very celebrated wizard, was brought to the stake upon the Castle-hill. This man's names were Alexander Hunter, *alias* Hamilton, *alias* Hattaraick, which last was bestowed by the devil, who first appeared to him, says Sinclair, in the form of a *medicinar*; subsequently, if Alexander's confession is to be believed, he would meet him riding on a black horse, or in the shape of a *corbie*, a cat, or a dog. He gave him four shillings sterling, and a fir-tree wand, teaching his slave, when desirous of a conference, to strike the ground with it, and cry, "Rise up, foul thief!"—A very uncivil mode of conjuration, truly, and improbable, as dictated by Lucifer himself. However, Alexander declared that he could not get rid of him when raised in this manner, till he gave him a quick cat, dog, or other some such like thing.* On one occasion, Satan chastised him severely with a cudgel. The wizard also confessed, that having conceived a deadly hatred against Elizabeth Lawson, Lady Ormiston, for having refused him *ane almous*, and called him *a custroune carl*, he, with some witches, raised the devil in Salton Wood, who, appearing like a man in gray clothes, gave him the bottom of a blue clue, and desired him to lay it at the lady's door; which he and the women having done, "the lady and her daughter were soon thereafter bereft of their naturall lyfe." Several other curious particulars respecting Hatteraick are to be found in Satan's Invisible World.

Alie Nisbet, in Hilton, suffered death for witchcraft and adultery, (the last of which she confest) in the year 1632. It was sworn against her, that "she tooke the paines off a woman in travell, by some charmes and horrible words;

kirk session of Glasco 5 or 6 years since, by Mr Archibald Glen, minister at Carmunnock, for killing Robert Muir, his good-brother, by witchcraft; she, to be revenged, laid on him ane uncouth sickness, whereof the said Mr Archibald, sweating, died; to which it was answered, that in truth the said Mr Archibald died of a consumption of his lights." See Memorials, p. 127, 165.

* During the reign of King Henry the Fourth of France, some wizards of that country were convicted of offering to the devil such slender propitiations as a live beetle, and parings of nails.
—Dr COTTA'S *Tryall of Witchcraft*.

amongst which thir ware some, *the bones to the fire, and the soull to the devill* ! and layed them on another woman, who straight died thereof ;” but Alie would not acknowledge the truth of this accusation. Two years afterwards, the king’s advocate, together with Home of Ayton, and John Ramsay of Edinton, his informers, pursued Elizabeth Bathgate, spouse to Alexander Rae, maltman in Eimouth, for sorcery. “ The dittay, containing 18 several articles, is as follows : 1^{mo}, George Sprot, wobster in Eimouth, having claith of the pannell’s, and keeping it longer than she expected, she came and violentlie took it from him, and promist to do him ane ill turne ; for performing whereof, she came one morning to his house when he was fra home, and his wife lying with his bairne in the bed ; she nipped the bairne in the thie till it skirled, and of which nip it never convalesced, but dwamed thereof, and died by hir sorcerie. *Item*, that the said Sprott’s wife having given an egg to her bairnie that came out of the pannell’s house, there did strike out a lumpe about the bigness of a goose-egg, that continued on the bairne while it died, and was occasioned by hir enchanted egg. The 2^d article bears, that she threatened the said George Sprot that he should never get his Sunday’s meat to the fore by his work ; which accordingly cam to pass by hir sorcerie, he falling into extreme poverty thereafter. 3^d article bears, that one William Donaldson having called her a witch, and she running after him to strike him for it, and he outrunning hir, she, in a fury, cryed after him, “ Weill, sir, the devil be in your feit ;” whereon he straight grew impotent and cripple. 4th, is for laying a grievous sickness on John Gray’s bairne, whereof it dyed, because they hindered you and your husband to big on the gavell of their barne. 5th is, that Margaret Home, spouse to Mr John Auchterlony, came to the pannell’s husband to borrow L.6 from him to help hir to buy a horse, with some more she had of hir own, which the pannel dissuaded hir husband fra, yet he did it ; whereon she went to the door where the horse was standing, and threatened that the horse should never do them good ; conforme whereto, it died suddenlie, and swat to deid. 6th is, that the said Margret, coming again to borrow L.17 to buy ane ox, she opposed hir vehemently ; and when hir husband, against hir will, would lend, she bewitched *the said cow* that it routed to deid ; and that that night it died, there was women seen dancing on the rigging of the byre. 7th is, that the same Margret having borrowed more money fra the pannell’s

husband, which was lent altogether against hir will, and the said Margret saying that what she got of hir did no good, because it was with ill will; and having bought a horse with it, the same ran mad by the pannell's witchcraft. 8th is, that she was at a solemne meeting with certain witches, the devill being with them; and that she desired them to go and cast down Auchterlonie's barne, and that ane Elspeth Wilson, a witch, that was with them, desired them not to do it; whereon she went herself and cast down the same, and some cattle was smoored. 9th is, that the pannell was seen to use conjurations and run wither-shinns in the milne of Eimouth. 10 is for laying a grievous sickness on Stevin Allan, and to have destroyed all his cattle with sorcerie. 11 is, that she was seen by two young men at 12 howers at even, (when all persons are in their beds) standing bare-legged and in hir sark valicot, at the back of hir yard, conferring with the devill, who was in gray cloaths; and when they bad hir God speid, she nor he spak not; whereon the one said to the other, "God save us, what does this woman here at this tyme of night?" the other replied, "Let hir allane, she is called not luckie." 12 is, that she caused largelie entertain one Margaret ———, a witch, apprehended at Ayton, onlie that she might not delate hir for one, who, notwithstanding, before hir conviction, declared she was a sicker witch. 13 is for burning the milne of Eimouth, she and hir other complices witches with her. 14 is for killing David Hynd, who was watching the boats at the tyme of the herring drave on the sands of Eimouth, she and her complices; and that for fear he should have put them out. 15 is, that she had a horse-shoe layed in a secret part of the door, which the devill gave hir, assuring hir, as long as that lay there, all hir business within doors should prosper. 16 is, that William Mearnes, a notorious warlock, and who being to be tryed, put hands on himself at the devill's instigation, declared that the pannell was a witch, and that he had seen hir at several of their assemblies. 17 is, that she, with other witches, were conveyed by the devill into George Huldie's ship, which they sunk, with sundrie persons therein. 18 article is, that the pannell being confronted with sundrie other witches, they avowed in hir face that she was with them at the casting away of the forsaid ship." Wonderful to relate, this woman was acquitted!

In the year 1638, one James Spalding, residing in Dalkeith, was hanged for the murder of William Saidler, "by straiking him throw the temples with

a whinger on the Hie striet of Dalkeith, and for invaiding and wounding Mr Robert Burnet, advocat."—*Criminal Record*. This is the Spalding of whom Sinclair tells so wonderful a story in his *Satan's Invisible world*. After having in vain begged mercy from Lord Traquair,* he was condemned to be hanged, which seems to have extremely wounded his pride, as he exclaimed, "Oh, must I die like a dog! Why was I not sentenced to loose my head?" And on the scaffold he prayed,—“Lord, let this soul of mine never depart from this body till it be reconciled with thee.” Accordingly, it was found impossible to strangle him, and he was buried alive, making “such a rumbling and tumbling in his grave, that the very earth was raised, and the mules were so heaved up that they could hardly keep them down. After this, his house at the east end of the town was frequented with a ghost.”

One John Brugh, “a notorious warlock in the parachin of Fossoquhy, by the space of 36 years,” was *worried at a stake and brunt*, 1643.† The same year, Janet Barker, and Margaret Lauder, “indwellers and servands in Edinburgh, were convicted of witchcraft. They confessed that one Janet Cranstone, a notorious witch, introduced them to the devil, who promised, that

* In the same year, “Thomas Crombie, sometyme porter and servand to ane noble and mychty earle, John Earle of Traquaire, his majesty's great thesaurer of Scotland, was pursued at the instance of the king's advocate, for hamesucken, demembration, and other crymes, *ut infra*. The said Thomas, for his lewdnesse, being shute out of my Lord Traquaire's service, and threatened never to be seen there again, he, in revenge theirow, knowing that my lord was at court in England, came to the Castle of Dalkeith, where he knew was my Ladie Traquaire and hir children; and, by way of hamesucken, with a sword, whinger, and other weapons, entered within the court of the said palace, and hearing that the ladie was in the garden, rushed therein, and came towards hir with his drawn sword, uttering thir words,—‘Now I shall have amends of thee,’ and then strak at hir with intention to kill, which certainly he would have done, had not a servant of the ladie's there besyde come betwixt hir and it, and which lighted on the said Mr John Lawson his shoulder, and wounded him sore, whereon they fell a struggling; during which tyme the ladie made hir escape to the house, and in which the said Thomas, with his whinger, gave him again two great wounds, and left him sounding in his blood, and came seiking the ladie again, where, falling on another servand, he most cruellie mutilat him of his thumb. He was convict, and sentenced to be hanged at Dalkeith.”—*Justiciary Record*. See also Baillie's Letters.

† “About this time many witches are taken in Anstruther, Dysart, Culros, St Andrews, and other parts on the coast side of Fife. They made strange confessions, and were burnt to the death.”—SPALDING'S *History*, vol. ii. p. 102.

they should be as trimlie cled as the best servands in Edinburgh." From some ridiculous circumstances in their confessions, I am induced to think that the witches had read the story of Europa. Barker acknowledged having the devil's mark between her shoulders, which was found; and a pin being thrust therein, it remained for an hour unperceived by the pannell. The year after these executions, Agnes Fynnies, dwelling at the Potter-row Port of Edinburgh, was prosecuted for witchcraft. "Her dittay is as follows: That whereas by the 18th chap. of Deuteronomy, and 20th of Leviticus, and 73d act of the ninth parliament of Q. Marie, all sorcerie is prohibit; yet the said Agnes hes committed the crymes following: 1st article, that having threatened Mr William Fairlie's son to send him halting home, because in a nickname, going by her door, he called hir *Annie Winnie*, he within 24 howers after lost the power of his left syde by hir witchcraft, and languished in so incurable a disease, that the whole physicians called it supernaturall, and the haill substance of his bodie ran out at his cute; and the boy laid the wholle wyte of his death constantlie upon the pannell: 2d article is, that she laid upon Beatrix Nisbet a fearfull disease, so that she lost *the power of her tongue!* because she paying the said Agnes two dollars owing hir by hir father, would not give hir annual rent therefor: The 3d is, that she laid a grievous sickness upon Jonet Grinton, whom ye threatened that she should never eat more in this world, because she had brought again two herring she had bought from you, they not being caler, and sought back hir 8 pennies, and of which she died, without eating or drinking, conforme to your threatening: The 4th is, that ye came in to visit John Buchannan's bairne, being sick of a palsie, and bad the father and mother go ben the house a whylle, and pray to God for him; and in the mean whylle ye staid with him, and when they returned, they fand him violently sick that he could neither stirr hand nor foot, and that by your devilrie; and fand on his right buttock, about the bridth of one's loofe, the same so sore as if a collope had been tain out of it; and he died within 8 days, in great dolour: The 5th is, that falling a scolding with Bessie Currie, the said bairne's mother, about the changing of a sixpence which ye alledged to be ill, ye, in great rage, threttned that ye should gar the devill tack a bite of hir: The 6th is, that ye laid a grievous sickness on hir husband, Jo. Buchannan, that he brant a wholle night as if he had been in a fyre, for taking his wife Bessie Currie's part

against you, and boasting to cast you over the stair, and calling you a witch; whereon ye thretned him to make him repent his speeches; and for taking the same off him, he coming the next day and drinking a pint of aill with you, and telling you that if you tormented him so another night, he should make all the toun heir tell of it; whereon he was weill. The 7th is, that the said John being offended at you because ye would not thrist his wife a 12-pennie caik, ye bad him go his way, and as he had begun with witches, so he should end; after which threatening, he streight contracted a long and grievous sicknesse, whereof he was lyke to melt away in sweiting. The 8th is, that in your scolding with Euphame Kincaid, ye calling hir a drunkard, and she calling you a witch, ye replied, 'That if ye was a witch, she and hir's should have better cause to call ye so;' accordingly a gret jist fell on the said Euphame's daughter's leg, being playing near your house, and crushed the same, and that by your sorcery. The 9th is, that ye ending a compt with Isobell Atchesone, and because ye could not get all your unreasonable demands, ye bad the devill ride about the toun with hir and hir's; whereupon the nixt day she brak hir leg by ane fall from a horse, and ye came and saw hir, and said, 'Sie that ye say not that I have bewitched you, as other neighbours say.' The 10th is, that Robert Wat, deacon of the cordiners, having fyned Robert Pursell, your sone-in-law, for a riot, ye came where he and the rest of the craft ware conveyned, and cursed them most outrageously, whereon Robert Wat broke the cap upon your head;* since which tyme he fell away in his worldly means, till long after, he being in your good-son's house, where ye likeways was, ye asked, 'if he remembered since he broke the cap on your head? and that he had never thriven since, nor should, till you had amends of him;' whereon he being reconciled with

* In Giffard's Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcrafts, 1603, is a story of a woman who repaired to a *cunning man*, suspecting that her husband had died of witchery through the incantations of a neighbour. "He showed her the woman as plaine in a glass as we see one another, and in the very apparell she went in at that houre; for she wore an old red cap, with corners, such as women were wont to weare, and in that she appeared in the glasse." These caps remind one of that used, during his studies, by Prynne, who, according to Aubrey, "was of a strange saturnine complexion. Sir C. W. sayd once, that he had the countenance of a witch. He wore a long quilt cap, which came two or three inches at least over his eies, which served him as an umbrella to defend his eies from the light."—*Lives of Eminent Men*, p. 508.

you, he prospered in his worldly estate as before. The 11th is, the laying on of a grievous sickness on Christian Harlaw, for sending back a plack's worth of salt which ye had sent hir, it being too little; ye having threatened hir that it should be the dearest salt ever she saw with her eyes, and then, at hir entreaty, ye came to her house, and she became presentlie weill; whereon Christian said, 'that if ought ailed hir thereafter, she should wyt you.' The 12th is, that Christian Sympsone being owing you some money, and because she craved only eight dayes delay to pay it, ye threatened, in great rage, 'that she should have a sore heart or that day eight dayes;' according whereto, the said Christian's husband broke his leg within the said eight dayes. The 13th is, that John Robieson having called you a witch, you, in malice, laid a flux on him by your sorcerie. The 14th is, for appearing to John Cockburne in the night, when both doors and windows were fast closed, and terrifieng him in his sleep, because he had discorded with your daughter the day before. The 15th is, for causing all William Smith's means evanish, to the intent he might never be able to relieve some cloaths he had panded besyde you, worth an 100lb. for 14 merks Scots onlie. The 16th is, for onlaying a grievous sicknesse on Janet Walker, lying in childbed; and then ye being sent for, and the said Janet's sister begging her health at you for God's sake, ye assented, and she recovered of hir sicknesse presently by your sorcerie. The 17th is, that ye being disappointed of having Alexander Johnstone's bairne's name, ye, in a great rage and anger, told him, 'that it should be telling him 40lb. betwixt and that tyme twelfmonth, that he had given you his bairne's name;' whereon he tooke a strange sickness and languished long; and at length, by persuasive of neighbours, he came to your house, and after he had eaten and drunken with you, ye with your sorcerie made him wholle. *Item*, the child whose name ye got not was past eleven years ere she could go. The 18th is, that ye having fallin in a contraversie with Margaret Williamsone, ye most outrageously wished the devill to blow hir blind; after which, she, by your sorcerie, took a grievous sicknesse, wherof she went blind. The 19th is, for laying a madness on Andrew Wilson, conforme to your threatening, wishing the devill to ryve the soul out of him, (which words, the tyme of his frenezie, ware ever in his mouth) and that because he had fallen in a brauling with your daughter. *Item*, for taking off it. The 20th article is a generall, for beiring companie with the

devill these 28 years bypast ; for consulting with him for laying on and taking off diseases, als weill on men as women and bestiall, which is nottourly known. *Item*, it is confest by hirsself, that she has been commonlie called a rank witch these many years bygane, and has been sua diffamed, repute, and halden."

The unhappy culprit's defences were long and able. Among other proofs of her innocence, it was alleged, that though many witches had been burnt at Leith and Edinburgh for these twenty years past, she was never accused by any of them ; and that when her house was searched by Bailie John Ellies, "there was neither pictur, toad, nor any such thing found therein, which ever any witch in the world was used to practize." Nevertheless, she was condemned to be worried at a stake, and then burnt to ashes.

WHILST these unhallowed practices went on in a more private circle, the powers of darkness were busy with the greatest personages in the three kingdoms ; but this black mass of wickedness came to a point before Whitehall, where a king was publicly murdered by a masked executioner, a lively emblem of that party which brought him to the block.* Charles's fate, if we are to believe Lilly, had been predicted to his mother, Queen Anne, by one English, or Inglis, a Scotsman, as that of Buckingham was foretold by a Highland seer, who said,—“ Pish, he will come to nothing ; I see a dagger in his breast.” —AUBREY'S *Miscellanies*, p. 275. The miseries of the civil war was also fore-shown by prodigies of a monster seen in the river Don ; the disappearance of sea-gulls from the lakes near Aberdeen ; loud tucking of drums heard in Mar, and in a seaman's house at Peterhead, where trumpets, bagpipes, and tolling of bells, gave additional horror to the sound.—SPALDING'S *History*.

One of the ridiculous pursuits of that time was a search after hidden treasure, supposed to be guarded by spirits, with all the elemental powers at their command. In the year 1634, Davy Ramsay, his majesty's clockmaker, made

* “It is said that some lions in the Tower died at the smell of a handkerchief dipt in the blood of King Charles the First.”—*Wonders of Nature*, by W. TURNER, 1697.

an attempt to discover a precious deposit supposed to be concealed in the cloister of Westminster Abbey, but a violent storm of wind put a stop to his operations.—LILLY'S *Life*, p. 47. This Ramsay, according to Osborne, in his *Traditional Memorials*, used to deliver money and watches, to be recompensed with profit, when King James should sit on the Pope's chair at Rome, so near did he apprehend (by astrology, doubtless,) the downfall of the papal power. His son wrote several books on astrological subjects, of which his *Astrologia Restaurata* is very entertaining. In the preface, he says that his father was of an ancient Scottish family, viz. of Eighththerhouse (Auchterhouse) "which hath flourished in great glory for 1500 years, till these latter days;" and derives the clan from Egypt, (it is wonderful that the idea of gypsies did not startle him) where the word Ramsay signifies joy and delight.* But he is extremely indignant that the world should call his father "no better than a watchmaker," asserting that he was in fact page of the bed-chamber, groom of the privy-chamber, and *keeper of all his majesties clocks and watches*. "Now, how this," quoth he to the reader, "should prove him a watchmaker, and no other, more than the late Earles of Pembroke, ordinary chamberlains, because they bore

* In King Charles the First's reign, a certain fair Scottish countess is said to have eloped with a band of gypsies, owing to the *glamour* exercised by their leader. The ballad composed on this subject is well known; but if chronology were not against it, I should believe that a poem by Captain Alexander Montgomery, author of the *Cherrie and Slae*, had also been written on the same event. It is termed, "A Ladyis Lamentation," and begins thus:—

"Quhom suld I warie but my wicked weard,
 Quha span my thriftles thraward fatall threed!
 I wes but skantlie entrit in this eard,
 Nor had offendit quhill I felt hir feed,
 In hir unhappy hands sho held my heid,
 And strakit bakward woodershins my hair,
 Syne prophecyed I sould aspyre and speid;
 Quhilk double sentence was baith suith and sair,
 For I wes matchit with my match and mair,
 No worldly woman never wes so weill;
 I wes accountit countess, but compair,
 Quhill fickle Fortune whirld me from her wheel,
 Rank and renoun in little roun sho rang'd,
 And Lady Lucrece in a Cresseid chang'd," &c.

this office in the king's house, do thou judge." It may here be observed, that even the sagacious inventor of the logarithms participated in the folly of his majesty's watchmaker, or keeper, in searching after hidden treasures. See a curious proof of this in Wood's Peerage of Scotland. The same Sir Archibald Napier, from his superior knowledge and retired habits, was deemed a wizard by the vulgar; and this honour to his country was supposed to entertain a familiar in the shape of a large black cock, from which he received advice in his scientific studies, and responses as to futurity.

The Marquis of Montrose is said to have been confident of success in his last unfortunate expedition, through some fallacious prophecies, to the belief of which he was greatly addicted, assuring him that he should conquer Scotland, and from thence conduct an army to settle the king in all his dominions.—*ECHARD'S History*. At this hero's birth, his mother consulted with witches, and it was predicted that he would trouble all Scotland. "He is said also," continues the author of the *Staggering State*, "to have eaten a toad whilst he was a sucking child." In maturer life, he did worse,—he swallowed the Covenant. The following curious detail respecting the apparition of a rival general, whose military fame was obscured by abominable acts of cruelty, is extracted from a *Diurnal* of the time:—"Edinburgh, 4th January, 1649, There was lately, upon a Lord's day, a very strange sight at St Johnstone's, at which town Lieutenant-General David Leshley hath an house, himself being then at church, where two of his men being at home, they saw (as they thought) an ensign fastened like a standard upon the tower of his house, which caused them to go up, having not known of any such thing put there. When they came up there, as they say, they being on the top of the tower, looked upon it, and there seemed to be the picture of their master, Lieut.-General David L. riding upon his charging horse, in his buffe coat, and in that posture in which he used to march, and upon it also the motto of his own colours. One of the men going near to the flagge to hold it in his hand, or touch it, before he did touch it, the staffe, and colour, and all fell down into the midst of the garden, whether they went down to take it up again. When they came into the garden, and thought to have found it there, it was gone; and none knows any thing more of it, only what these two thus saw. They went presently to the church to tell their master what they had seen, and what befell them, and to ask him about it, and whether he knew of any such ensign set up there.

This newes hath much amased them hereabouts; some making a good construction of it to Scotland, others bad, and good to England. Some think that the men were seduced by an evil spirit, and some think they are very knaves."

Sir Richard Napier, descended from the Merchiston family, and a doctor of medicine in London, during the reign of King Charles I. saw his own apparition, as dead, and laid out upon a bed, a little while previous to his death. This is mentioned by Aubrey, who also relates, that "the beautiful Lady Diana Rich, daughter to the Earl of Holland, as she was walking in her father's garden at Kenington, to take the fresh air before dinner, about eleven o'clock, being then very well, met with her own apparition, habit, and every thing, as in a looking-glass. About a month after, she died of the small-pox; and it is said that her sister, the Lady Isabella Thynne, saw the like of herself also, before she died.* This account I had from a person of honour." A

* In the possession of Lord Breadalbane, is a full-length portrait of Lady Isabella, holding a lute, for her performance on which she is so much extolled by Waller. Aubrey, in his Life of Dr Kettle, President of Trinity College, Oxford, says, that during the civil war, "our grove was the Daphne for the ladies and their gallants to walke in, and many times my Lady Isabella Thynne (she lay at Balliol College) would make her entreys with a theorbo or lute played before her. I have heard her play on it in the grove myself, which she did rarely; for which Mr Edm. Waller hath, in his poems, for ever made her famous. One may say of her, as Tacitus said of Agrippina,—*Cuncta alia illæ adfuere, præter animum honestum*. She was most beautifull, most humble, charitable, &c.; but she could not subdue one thing. I remember one time this lady, and fine Mrs Fenshawe, her great and intimate friend, who lay at our college, (she was wont, and my Lady Thynne, to come to our chapell, mornings, half-dressed, like angells) would have a frolick to make a visit to the president. The old doctor quickly perceived that they came to abuse him; he addressed his discourse to Mrs Fenshawe, saying, "Madam, your husband and father I-bred up here, and I knew your grandfather; I know you to be a gentlewoman, I will not say you are a w——; but gett you gone for a very woman." At the conclusion of *Beaumont's Treatise of Spirits*, is a very remarkable account of the death of a young lady, communicated by the Bishop of Gloucester, which may properly be added to this notice respecting the daughters of Lord Holland. "Sir Charles Lee, by his first lady, had only one daughter, of which she died in child-birth; and when she was dead, her sister, the Lady Everard, desired to have the education of the child, and she was by her very well educated till she was marriageable, and a match was concluded for her with Sir William Perkins, but was then prevented in an extraordinary manner. Upon a Thursday night, she, thinking she saw a light in her chamber after she was in bed, knocked for her maid, who presently came to her; and she asked, 'why she left a candle burning in her chamber?' The maid said, she 'left none, and there was none but what she brought with her at that time;' then she said it was the fire, but that her maid told her was quite out; and said she believed it was only a dream, whereupon she said it

third daughter of Lord Holland was the wife of the first Earl of Breadalbane; and it has been recorded that she also, not long after her marriage, had some such warning of her approaching dissolution.

Wodrow, in his History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, mentions two *remarkables*, as he terms them, which took place in Scotland on the restoration of King Charles, and the removal of the English troops: "When the English subdued Scotland, the swans which were in the loch on the north side of Linlithgow, left it, and, as it was then termed, took banishment on them; but last year, or the beginning of this, they came back upon the king's return. And upon the Citadell of Perth, where the arms of the Commonwealth had been put up, in May last year, a thistle grew out of the wall near the place, and quite overspread them, which was much observed, and our old Scots motto, *Nemo me impune lacessit*. Both these may be, without any thing extraordinary, accounted for; but they were matter of remark and talk, it may be, more than they deserved."

might be so, and composed herself again to sleep; but about two of the clock she was awakened again, and saw the apparition of a little woman between her curtain and her pillow, who told her she was her mother, that she was happy, and that by twelve of the clock that day she should be with her; whereupon she knocked again for her maid, called for her clothes, and when she was dressed, went into her closet, and came not out again till nine, and then brought out with her a letter sealed to her father; brought it to her aunt, the Lady Everard, told her what had happened, and declared that as soon as she was dead, it might be sent to him; but the lady thought she was suddenly fallen mad, and thereupon sent presently away to Chelmsford for a physician and surgeon, who both came immediately; but the physician could discern no indication of what the lady imagined, or of any indisposition of her body; notwithstanding, the lady would needs have her let blood, which was done accordingly; and when the young woman had patiently let them do what they would with her, she desired that the chaplain might be called to read prayers; and when prayers were ended, she took her gittar and psalm-book, and sate down upon a chair without arms, and played and sung so melodiously and admirably, that her musick-master, who was then there, admired at it. And near the stroke of twelve, she rose and sate herself down in a great chaire with arms, and presently fetching a strong breathing or two, immediately expired, and was so suddenly cold, as was much wondered at by the physician and surgeon. She died at Waltham, in Essex, three miles from Chelmsford, and the letter was sent to Sir Charles, at his house in Warwickshire; but he was so afflicted with the death of his daughter, that he came not till she was buried; but when he came, he caused her to be taken up, and to be buried with her mother at Edminton, as she desired in her letter. This was about the year 1662, or 63; and this relation the Lord Bishop of Gloucester had from Sir Charles himself."

Whatever satisfaction the return of King Charles the Second might afford to the younger females in his dominions, it certainly brought nothing, save torture and destruction, to the unfortunate old women, or witches of Scotland, against whom, immediately on the restoration, innumerable warrants were issued forth; and for some years the Castlehill of Edinburgh, and the heights in the vicinity, blazed with the dry carcasses of those miserable victims; nor was this persecution confined to Mid Lothian, but widely extended over the northern counties, where ignorant justices of the peace, abetted by foolish clergymen, doomed almost every old woman *dilated*, as it was called, by some of her spiteful neighbours, to the torture and the stake. Sir George Mackenzie affirms, that he knew a witch burnt "because the lady was jealous of her with her husband." Of the trials for witchcraft in Edinburgh after the restoration, a few extracts are subjoined.

August 1661, Margaret Bryson, and several other witches, were condemned and executed. "Bryson's case," says the abridger of the Criminal Record, "I note down to be a warning against passion and imprecations; she having fallen out with her husband for selling her cow, she went out in a passion to the door of her house in the night time, and there did imprecate that God or the devill might take her from her husband; after which, immediately the devil appeared to her, and threatened to take her, soul and body, if she entered not into his service; whereupon immediately she covenanted with him, and renounced her baptism." In the case of Isabel Ramsay, it appeared "that she conversed with the devil, and received a sixpence from him; the devil saying that God bad him give her that; and he asked, how the minister did? She confessed that she received a dollar from the devil, which thereafter she found to be a sklait-stone. Against Margaret Hutcheson it is lybelled, that she threatened John Boost for calling her a witch; and within a few days thereafter, by throwing a piece of raw flesh into his house, which was burnt in the fire, (after dogs and cattis had refused to eat it) a disease seized on his cat, which made her to fight and sweat to death; that she threatened John Bell for contending with her husband, and immediately thereafter, three cats entered to his house, which were like to devour them, whereupon two of his children died, and his

wife contracted a long disease;* that she appeared several nights at midnight, combing her head at the fireside, doors being shut, and affrighted his wife; and the last of these nights, by her touching the wife's pap, when her child was sucking, the child died.

Another witch, Janet Cock, was accused of making many persons of both sexes run mad. "*Item*, she killed a child of William Scott's, fostered by Helen Turnbull, having predicted the same by these words, *that she* (Helen) *should get her leave from her master, and a lash* —; she having conceived hatred against William Mitchell for smiting her, said, she would see him hanged, and make a shameful end; and accordingly he was hanged at Dalkeith. She kept company with the devil, and came with him and several of his associates to Elizabeth Pringle's house, when the doors of the house were close, and wrestled to get from her the child in her arms. She bewitched William Scott's horse, and turned him furious; and a country man, present for the time, having caused Scott to take off the horse shoes, and put them in the fire, telling him, that the first person who should come in after the shoes should be taken hot out of the fire, would be the witch; immediately the pannel came in, who was never in the house before, and without any business. In anno 1661, she predicted and foretold that a whirlwind should arise, and take away Christian Wilson, a suspected witch, in her transport from Dalkeith to Niddrie, where she was to be confronted with other persons, which accordingly fell out." To this last article her lawyer, Mr Andrew Birnie, answered, that she only said, would it not be good sport if a wind would come and take away the person libelled from those who transported her? From some passages of the trial, it appears that Cock used those applications of newly killed animals

* In the City Records of Edinburgh, after a gift of escheat, granted by the council to the baron bailie of Canongate, of all heritable and moveable goods belonging to the witches thereof, (17th July, 1661) follows a Report made by William Johnstone, baron bailie of Canongate, concerning Barbara Mylne, whom Janet Allen, burnt for witchcraft, "did once see come in at the Water-gate in likeness of a catt, and did change her garment under her awen staire, and went in to her house." This, and other flying reports, caused the bailie to think it proper to detain the said Barbara in prison till he acquainted the council. The gift of escheat, no doubt, had its proper weight with him; but he is desired to take caution for her appearance, and to liberate her till some course be taken for further examination.

to sick persons, once so extensively practised. "Margaret Brunton, a confessing witch, did declare in face of the pannel, that about 16 years ago, she being in the house of James Steel in Dalkeith, visiting a sick child, she saw the pannel, and Jean Dickson, another witch, lying over the child and whispering to one another, and they commanded Margaret Brunton to go from them; and that after Janet and the dog of the house had been some time together in a close room, the door being open, the dog rushed out, and Janet was found with another woman, and a plate of blood standing beside them; and the dog was found dead without the house, its head amissing, and the child immediately recovered." The dog's head had been applied to the child. In that curious book, *The Poor Man's Physician, or the Receits of the famous John Moncrief of Tippermalloch*, the reader will find many such barbarous prescriptions, together with numberless other most beastly and fatal nostrums, with which our charitable grandmothers were daily wont to poison their own family, and half the parish besides.

The Privy Council, in the year 1662, granted a commission to several gentlemen for trial of some witches in the parish of Innerkip, who had made ingenuous confessions. Among which the following extraordinary document, printed from the MS., obligingly communicated to me by Michael Stewart Nicolson, Esq., is well worthy of preservation.

"The Confession of Marie Lamont, a young Woman of the adge of Eighteen Yeares, dwelling in the parish of Innerkip, who willinglie offered herself to Tryell on the 4th of March, 1662.

"1. She cam and offered herself willingly to the tryell, saying, that God moved her heart to confess, because she had lived long in the devil's service. 2. She confessed most ingenuously, that fyve years since, Kattrein Scot, in Mudiestean, within the parochin of Innerkip, learned her to take kyes milk, biding her goe owt in mistie mornings, and take with her a harrie tedder, and draw it over the mouth of a mug, saying, 'In God's name, God send us milk, God send it, and meikle of it.' By this meanes shee and the said Kattrein gat much of their neighbour's milk, and made butter and cheise thereof.* 3. She

* For more particulars concerning this charm, see *Kirk's Secret Commonwealth*, p. 5.

confessed, that two yeares and ane half since, the devill came to the said Katrien Scott's house, in the midst of the night, wher wer present with them, Margret M'Kenzie in Greinok, Janet Scot in Gorrok, herself, and several others; the devill was in the likeness of a meikle black man, and sung to them, and they dancit; he gave them wyn to drink, and wheat bread to eat, and they warr all very mirrie. She confesses, at that meiting the said Kettie Scott made her first acquaintance with the devill, and caused her to drink to him, and shak hands with him. 4. She confesses, that at that tyme the devill bad her betak herself to his service, and it sould be weel with her, and bad her forsak her baptizme, which shee did, delyvering herself wholly to him, by putting her one hand on the crown of her head, and the other hand to the sole of her fott, and giving all betwixt these two into him. 5. She confessed, that at that tyme he gave her name, and called her *Clowts*, and bad her call him *Serpent*, when she desired to speak with him. 6. Shee confessed, that at that sam tym the devill nipit her upon the right syd, qlk was very painful for a tym, but yair-after he straikit it with his hand, and healed it; this she confesses to be his mark." The seventh article regards her criminal intercourse with Sathan as to gallantry, which she first confessed, and then denied. "8. She confesses that she was at a meitting in the Bridylinne, with Jean King, Kettie Scot, Margrat M'Kenzie, and several others, where the devill was with them in the likeness of a brown dog. The end of their meitting was to raise stormie weather to hinder boats from the killing fishing; and shee confessed that shee, Kettie Scot, and Margrat Holm, cam to Allan Orr's house in the likeness of kats, and followed his wif into the chalmer, where they took a herring owt of a barrell, and having taken a byt off it, they left it behind them; the qlk herring the said Allan his wif did eat, and yairefter taking heavy disease, died. The quarrel was, because the said Allan had put Margrat Holm out of the houss wher shee was dwelling, whereupon shee threited in wrath, that he and his wif sould not be long together. This agrees with the tent article of Kettie Scot's confession. 10. Shee confessed, that shee, Kettie Scot, Margrat M'Kenzie, and severall others, went out to the sea betwixt and the land of Arran, to doe skaith to boats and ships that sould com alongs. They caused the storme to increase greatly, and mieting with Colin Campbell's ship, did rive the sailles from her. Shee confesses, that in that voyadge shee was so oversett with ill

weather, that shee took the fever soon yairefter, and did bleed much. This agrees with the 12th artickle of Kettie Scot's confession. 11. Shee confessed, that when shee had been at a mietting sine Zowle last, with other witches, in the night, the devill convoyed her home in the dawning; and when shee was com near the hous wherein shee was a servant, her master saw a waff of him as he went away from hir. 12. She confessed, that shee knew some witches caried meikle ill will at Blackhall, younger, and Mr John Hamilton, and would fain give them ane ill cast if they could; therefor, about five weeks sine, Jean King, Kettie Scot, Jonet Holm, herself, and severall others, met together in the night, at the back gate of Ardgowand, where the devill was with them in the likeness of a black man, with cloven featt, and directed some of them to fetch wyt sand from the shore, and cast it about the gates of Ardgowand, and about the minister's house; but shee sayes, when they war about that business, the devil turned them in likeness of kats, by shaking his hands above their heads. She confesses alsoe, that in that business some were cheifs and ring-leaders, others was bot followers. This agrees with the 11th article of Kettie Scot's confession. 13. Shee confessed alsoe, that shee was with Kettie Scot, Margrat M'Kenzie, and others, at a meitting at Kempoch, where they intendit to cast the longston into the sea, thereby to destroy boats and shipes, wher they danced, and the devil kissed them when they went away. These artickles were confessed by the said Marie Lamont, at Innerkip, before us, undersubscribers, Archibald Stewart, fiare of Blackhall; J. Hamilton, minister at Innerkip," &c.

One of the most remarkable circumstances in this curious confession, is that of the devil's singing, his voice being represented by witches as hollow and *goustie*, and the music with which he regaled them generally instrumental. In Satan's Invisible World, however, there is a story (attested by a reverend minister) of a piper to whom the devil, "at a ball of dancing," taught an obscene song, "to sing and play as it were this night, and ere two days passed, all the lads and lasses of the town were lilting it through the streets. It were an abomination," adds Sinclair, "to rehearse it." In truth, the Scottish minstrels of every description were vulgarly supposed, during the prevalence of the Covenant, to be under the peculiar care and protection of the devil. Nay, even the Reverend Mr Kirk, author of the Secret Commonwealth, would insinuate,

that in Ireland and in the north of Scotland a sensibility to the charms of music, so as to occasion dancing, proceeds from diabolic influence. "Irish-men," says he, "our northern Scottish, and our Athole men, are so much addicted to, and delighted with harps and musick, as if, like King Saul, they were possessed with a forrein spirit; only with this difference, that musick did put Saul's play-fellow asleep, but roused and awaked our men, vanquishing their own spirits at pleasure, as if they were impotent of its powers, and unable to command it; for wee have seen some poor beggars of them chattering their teeth for cold, that how soon they saw the fire, and heard the harp, leap thorow the house like goats and satyrs."

But if the bagpipe could inspirit the godly to fight for the good old cause, it was hallowed forthwith. Lord Lothian, writing to Lord Ancram from the Scottish army at Newcastle, 18th February, 1641, says,—“I cannot out of our armie furnish yow with a sober fidler; there is a fellow here plays exceeding well, but he is intollerably given to drink; nor have we many of these people. Our armie hes few or none that carie not armes. We are sadder and graver than ordinarie soldiers, only we are well provided of pypers; I have one for every company in my regiment, and I think they are as good as drummers.” The bagpipe itself seems to have been a favourite instrument with the devil:—At the witch meeting in Alloway kirk,

“He screw'd the pipes and gart them skirl,
Till roof and rafters a' did dirle.”

BURNS' *Tam o' Shanter*.

And there was a legend long current in Glasgow, that about an hundred years ago, as a citizen was passing at midnight through the church-yard which surrounds the Cathedral, he saw a neighbour of his own, lately buried, rise out of his grave, and dance a jig with the devil, who played the air called, “Whistle o'er the lave o't,” upon the bagpipe, which struck the whole city with so much horror, that the town-drummer was sent through the streets next morning, to forbid any one to play, sing, or whistle the nefarious tune in question.*

* Patrick Walker, in his *Vindication of Mr Cameron*, inveighs thus eloquently against dancing to bagpipes and fiddles:—“I have often wondered thorow my life, how any who ever knew

The most remarkable scene of witchcraft during the reign of King Charles the Second, was acted in Renfrewshire, where Sir George Maxwell of Pollock died, as it was supposed, from the malice of some haggs and one wizard. A full account of this strange affair will be found in the Memorials, to which the following letter from the Reverend Mr Robert Knox, to the Reverend Mr Wyllie, is a proper addition. It is printed from the original, one passage only being omitted, as too specific regarding the intimacy of the devil with the youngest witch, Annabel Stewart:—

Cavers, Feb. 27, 77.

My dear Friend,

Yours of Feb. 2 (which I received the 24) hath mightily convinced me (I say not that theer are witches, for it is a good tyme since I was past doubting of yt truth) that these persones who are apprehended upon that score by the Laird of Pollock's friends, and who probably, ere this, have suffered upon earth for their crimes, are really such; the finding of the effigies; the observed influence the withdrawing the pines from them had upon the gentilman, albeit he was not acquainted therewith; (as I am glad to finde you intimate in your last that Housle did, for I suppose you insinuat that at Housle's returne

what it was to bow a knee in earnest to pray, durst crook a hough to fyke and fling at pipers' and fidlers' springs. I bless the Lord that ordered my lot so in my dancing days, that made the fear of the bloody rope and bullets to my neck and head, the pain of boots, thumbikins, and irons, cold and hunger, wetness and weariness, to stop the lightness of my head, and the wantonness of my feet. What the never-to-be-forgotten man of God, John Knox, said to Queen Mary, when she gave him that sharp challenge, which would strike our mean-spirited, tongue-tacked ministers dumb, for his giving publick faithful warning of the danger of church and nation, through her marrying *the dauphine of France*, (he should have said Lord Darnley) when he left her bubbling and greeting, and came to an outer court where her Lady Maries were fyking and dancing, he said,—‘O brave ladies, a brave world if it would last, and heaven at the hinderend; but fy upon the knave Death, that will seize upon these bodies of yours;—and where will your fiddling and flinging be then?’ Dancing being such a common evil, especially among young professors, has caused me to insist the more upon it, especially that foolish spring, the Cameronian march.” Mrs Macbirnie, a pious widow of Dumfries, who was sent to Dunnotter Castle for whiggery, and wrote an account of her tribulations, complains grievously of the Fife militia, appointed to guard her and other old women, because they called them old witches, wishing the devil to take them and their religion, and of “the pipers, who, by the way, derided them with their foolish songs.”—*Wodrow's MS.*

from J. Stewart's house, he enquired, how Pollock found himself, befor he knew any thing of what he had done,) together with the confession obtained without tortur, and their agrieng in confession about the last effigies making; which confessions, I presume, were received apart, do free me of any solid or rational objection to the contrair; neither in all their confessions (which I hugg thee, dear Robin, for sending to me) doe I observe any thing that those who believe the existence of devils can imagine them uncapable to perform; their is not theirin the taking different shape from what nature gave them, and flying therein through the air, or the lyke prodigious account of succubi and incubi divels, which other witches, with many other odd stories, do confesse, and which, in my opinion, are possible. And indeed I judge Dumby (*i. e.* Janet Douglas,) the greatest prodigy in the whole business, and would gladly be satisfied of her birth and education. I should had good thoughts of her, if it had not been her making take blood of the criminalls; but I observe, from your information, her age, her deafness and dumbness, which make it improbable she had that charme from observation and experience. I am convinced this came the same way to her that the rest of her extraordinar sagacity came, which, for all this, I dare not impute positively to an evil cause.* You know that pairte of the Christian church, which is so considerable, as to assume to itself the title of Catholick, holds the history of Tobiah, where there is an action, (which, in my judgement,) hath more resemblance to a charme than yet this hath, enjoined and taught by an angel, cannonical scripture.† It is

* I know assuredly, that Janet Douglas, that was first a dumbie, yet spoke thereafter, who had given many responses by signs and words, and foretold many future events, being examined by Mr Gray, one of the ministers of the city of Glasgow, denied any explicit or implicit paction; and declared freely, that the answers of the questions proposed to her were represented by a vision, and lively images representing the persons concerned, and acting the thing, before her eyes. This Master Gray exchanged several discourses in writ with Sir James Turner, concerning her.—*A Discourse of the Second Sight, by the Rev. Mr John Frazer, Minister of Teree and Coll, and Dean of the Isles.*

† “Guard against devilish charms for men and beasts, which are the very rudiments of witchcraft, and introductory to a formal and more explicit covenant with the devil. O! do not play upon the brink of the pit, least yow tumble in. There are many sorceries practised in our day, against which I would on this occasion bear my testimony, and do therefore seriously ask you, What is it you mean by your observation of times and seasons as lucky or unlucky? What

our ignorance of the power of any naturall agent that makes us impute y^r effects to evil spirits, which we fancy they produce upon our paying them our homage, by making use of some charme which they have taught. This made the powder of sympathy, when first it was used in Europe, ill lookt on, and many divers into naturall philosophy, be deemed magicians. This taking of blood from the witch above the breath, may possibly have a naturall ability to restraine her from further injuring the person that gave it passage, or upon whose score it was taken, and this possibly by creating in her a pannick feare (which you know a guilty conscience is very susceptible of) of them. And now, since I have entred a field of possibilities, where you know there is roome enough to roame in, I'll pass on a litle further, and spend the remnant of this paper on my toure. Possibly, then, Mrs Dumby hath some correspondence with some of Mr Dryden's changelings of heaven, his aërial spirites, which have taught her all this skill, and which, probably, are intimately acquaint with the power of natur, and have easy access to all our litle business here below, and are able to give their favourites clear information thereof. They are they whom the vulgar call white deviles, which possibly have neither so much power nor malice as the black ones have, which served our great grandfathers under the names of Brouny, and Robin Goodfellow, and, to this day, make dayly service to severals in quality of familiars; and if all tales be trew, they have been observed to be effrayed at the presence of a black spirit. I have heard a story of a lady in our west marches 'twixt Ingland and us, who had one whom she named Ethert, which alwais appeared to

mean you by your spells, verses, words so often repeated, said fasting, or going backward? How mean yow to have success by carrying about with yow certain herbs, plants, and branches of trees? Why is it, that, fearing certain events, yow do use such superstitious means to prevent them, by laying bits of timber at doors, carrying a Bible merely for a charm, without any further use of it? What intend ye by opposing witchcraft to witchcraft, in such sort, when ye suppose one to be bewitched, ye endeavour his relief by burnings, bottles, horse-shoes, and such like magical ceremonies? How think ye to have secrets revealed unto yow, and your doubts resolved, and your minds informed, by turning a sieve or a key? Or to discover, by bassons and glasses, how yow shall be related before yow die? Or do yow think to escape the guilt of sorcery, who let your Bible fall open, on purpose to determine what the state of your soul is, by the first word ye light upon?"—*A Discourse of Witchcraft, by Mr John Bell, Minister of the Gospel at Gladsmuir, 1705, MS.*

her, and was ever in her presence when she was alone, in the shape of a litle old fellow. She was one night passing a large muire, with no attendants but Ethert running by her, when there appeared a big unshapely spirit, at which Ethert jump't on horseback behind my lady, and all the tyme that the black one attended them, Ethert clasped his armes about my lady, and shivered and trembled, and appeared to be in a greater fear by far than my lady herself.* But my serious thoughts of the matter is, that this discovery may be of good weight with others, to prove the existence of a power able to free us from their malice, and infinitely good, saving us many tymes when we litle dreed danger from them. To whose power, that you and I may be entirely devoted, is the most serious desire of your own

Ro. KNOX.

For Mr Robert Wyllie, at Ochiltree, to be delivered to Walter Cunningham, bookseller, hard by the Cross, on the south syde of the streete, Edinburgh.

Patrick Walker, writing of the persecution of fanatics during the reign of Charles the Second, says:—"It was also a day of very astonishing apparitions, both in the firmament and upon the earth, which I can instruct the truth of. As first, before the gospel was sent to the fields and desert places, in the year 1668, or 1669, in these places where the gospel was most frequently preached afterwards, how surprising and astonishing was the sight, both by night and day, of brae-sides covered with the appearance of men and women,

* Beaumont, in his Account of Genii, or Familiar Spirits, gives a very accurate description of two, which, he says, constantly attended himself. "They appeared both in women's habit, being of a brown complexion, and about three feet in stature; they had both black loose net-work gowns, tied with a black sash about their middles; and within the net-work appeared a gown of a golden colour, with somewhat of a light striking through it; their heads were not drest with top-knots, but they had white linnen caps on, with lace on them about three fingers breadth, and over it they had a black loose net-work hood." See also Baxter's Worlds of Spirits, p. 178, for an account of one Major Wilkie, "a Scottish soldier, and a scholar of considerable learning; he would drink too much, and had the signs of a heated brain, but no failing of his reason perceivable," who confidently affirmed, that he continually saw good and evil spirits about him, and that he had a good genius and an enemy.

with tents, and voices heard in them? Particularly, the first night that Mr John Dickson preached in the fields in the night-time, east from Glasgow, upon Clide's side, his parish being on the south side, Ruthglen, where he was settled minister before the unhappy restoration; and, after long persecution and imprisonment in the Bass and other places, was resettled there again, and died there since the Revolution. That first night, several people together, before they came to the appointed place, they saw upon their way a brae-side covered with the appearance of people, with a tent, and a voice crying aloud, 'This is the everlasting gospel; if ye follow on to know, believe, and embrace this gospel, it shall never be taken from you;' when they came to join them, all disappeared. Other companies of people in another way going there, heard a charming sweet sound of singing the 93d psalm, which obliged them to stand still until it was ended; other people who stayed at home, in several places, some heard the singing of the 44th psalm, others the 46th psalm. When the people who were there came home, they who stayed at home said, 'Where have ye been so long? for the preaching was near-by, for we heard the psalms sweetly sung, and can tell you a note of the sermon, which was the foresaid note.' Worthy Mr John Blackadder, who was a blest instrument, to the experience of many after this, who used to call these years the *blink*, was at all pains to examine the most solid Christians in that bounds, upon their hearing and seeing these things, who all asserted the truth of the same; and there are some yet alive, worthy of all credit, who heard the said Mr Blackadder, after this, discoursing with the foresaid Mr Dickson in Borrowstounness, in the house of Skipper William Horn, that old exercised, singular, self-denied, tender Christian, which is very rare to be found now. Mr Dickson was modest, being preacher himself that night; but Mr Blackadder concluded that it was of the Lord, and that the gospel would go to the fields, and be blest with power and success there. A daughter of the said Mr Blackadder, worthy of all credit, yet alive at Edinburgh, declares she heard her father relate the same to her mother, with chearfulness.

"2dly, Before the gospel came to that known place, Craigmad, where it became frequent afterwards, to the sweet experience of some yet alive; it lies within the shire of Stirling, and betwixt the parish of Falkirk and Moranside. How many did see that know, or brae-side, as close covered with the appear-

ance of men and women? as they many times saw it afterwards; particularly, one day Alexander Stirling, who lived in the Redden, near that place, a solid, serious, zealous Christian, who told this several times to some yet alive, worthy of all credit, who told me of it, ‘That he, with some others, one day was in that desert place, and saw that brae-side closs covered with the appearance of men and women, singing the 121st psalm, with a milk-white horse, and blood-red saddle on his back, standing beside the people,’ which made that serious, discerning, observing Christian conclude, that the gospel would be sent to that place, and that the white horse was the gospel, and the red saddle persecution.

“3dly, That known place, Darmead, where the gospel was more frequent afterward than any place I know betwixt Clidesdale and Lothian, for which it was called the Kirk of Darmead, five parishes met about it, the like was seen there singing the 59th psalm. And whoever will consider these foresaid psalms, will see how suitable they were to these dispensations, and were oft sung by the Lord’s suffering people in that time; but this brutish carnal age knows not what it is to syllable the Scriptures, or feed upon them.”

At this period, too, the royalists were believed by the adverse party to be as much devoted to Satan as to King Charles the Second. The bishops were cloven-footed, and had no shadows; the military officers who were employed to pursue the whigs into their lurkingplaces, wore coats of proof, and bestrode horses that could clamber among rocks like foxes; and the justices of peace commissioned to try the fugitives, were seen familiarly conversing with the foul fiend, to whom one in Dumfries-shire actually offered up his first-born child immediately after birth, stepping out with it in his arms to the staircase, where the devil stood ready, as it was suspected, to receive this innocent victim.

The curates also were, many of them, little better than wizards, if we may trust to Kirkton, and other authors of his persuasion, while the Episcopalians now and then retorted the accusation upon their adversaries. During this prevalence of magic, the Duke of Rothes was said to have been bewitched by Lady Anne Gordon, who accompanied him during his progresses in male attire, though one is tempted to think, if the lady could forget her dignity so far, that the enchantment was on the duke’s side.* Dreams, too, were prevalent, re-

* Prynne, in his *Hidden Workss of Darknes*, mentions a like indiscretion committed during the reign of King Charles the First, but the lady was of a less noble extract:—“No lesse was

vealing to tories the haunts of the hill-men, and to these the approach of their triumphant enemies. In God's Judgements against Persecutors, is recorded the dismal end to which so many of these reprobates came, among whom General Dalyell is said to have expired with a glass of wine at his lips, drinking the king's health, no doubt; Sir Robert Lawrie to have fallen from his horse, and had his neck broken, though that misfortune, in truth, belonged to his son; Sir George Mackenzie's body was wasted by fountains of blood continually issuing from all parts; nay, soon after death, the devil carried away Sir Archibald Kennedy of Colzean's remains in a fearful tempest; and the Duke of Queensberry's soul was seen, in a black coach drawn by six black horses, driving into Mount Vesuvius, a loud voice shouting out,—“Open to the Duke of Drumlangrig!” which proves, by the way, that the devil's porter is no herald. In fact, the legend is borrowed from the story of Antonio the Rich, in George Sandys's Travels. Jacob Bee, a citizen of Durham, notes in his MS. Diary—“John Borrow departed this life the 17th day of January, being Satterday, this yeare 1684-5, and was reported yt he see a coach drawn by 6 swine, all black, and a black man satt upon the cotch-box; he fell sick upon't, and dy'd, and of his death severall apparitions appeared after.”

A ghost, whose history even to this hour inspires terror at many a cottager's fireside in Dumfries-shire, may perhaps, with propriety, be arranged among the spectral molestations which appalled the Scottish lieges in King Charles the Second's reign.—Sir Alexander Jardine of Applegirth had confined in the dungeon of his tower of Spedlins, a fellow named Porteous, by trade a miller, suspected of having wilfully set fire to his own premisses—suddenly called away to Edinburgh, the key of the vault travelled with the forgetful baron, and Porteous died of hunger before the oversight was discovered. It is said that famine constrained him to devour one of his own hands; and some steps of a stair within the small dungeon are still shown, on which he was found

his (the Pope's) pride puft up, when Sir William Hamilton, brother to the Earl of Abercorne, and cousen to the Marquesse Hamilton, was sent ambassadour from our queen to that court (of Rome) whose carriage was like to that of Signior Georgio's here, carrying, clothed in man's apparell, through England, Scotland, France, and Italy, his sweetheart, Eugenius Bonny, a daughter of the yeoman of his majesties wine cellar.”

stretched out in this deplorable condition ; but it is surprising enough, that a pretty large window still remains, through which food might easily have been conveyed to the starving miller. Be that as it may, no sooner was the man dead than his ghost began to torment the whole household, so that no rest was to be had within the Tower of Spedlins either by day or night. In this dilemma, Sir Alexander, according to old use and wont, summoned a whole army of ministers to his aid,* and by their strenuous efforts, Porteous was at length confined to the scene of his mortal agonies, where, however, he continued to scream of a night,—“ Let me out, let me out ; I’m dying of hunger !” —to flutter like a bird against the door of the vault, and to remove the bark from any twig that was sportively thrust through the key-hole. The spell which thus compelled the spirit to remain in bondage, was attached to a large black-letter Bible, used by the exorcists, and afterwards deposited in a stone niche, which still remains in the wall of the stair-case ; and it is certain, that after the lapse of many years, when the family repaired to a newer mansion, built on the opposite side of the river Annan, the Bible was left behind to keep the restless spirit in order. On one occasion, indeed, the volume requiring to be re-bound, was sent half way into Edinburgh, but the ghost, getting out of the dungeon, and crossing the river, made such a disturbance in the new house, hauling the baronet and his lady out of their bed, that the Bible was immediately recalled, and placed in its former situation. Of late times, it is no longer to be seen, and of the ghost no recent tidings have been heard. But a circumstance respecting one of the personages connected with this story, may here be recorded, as a great wonder in its own way, and at that superstitious period, deemed more marvellous than even the apparition of Porteous itself.—Lady Margaret Douglas, sister of William first Duke of Queensberry, and wife of Sir Alexander Jardine, was so extremely penurious in her temper, that she generally went abroad covered with rags ; and so anxious was this lady to amass money, that she would sit for whole days on the bank of the river Annan, which flows near Spedlins, to carry people across upon her shoulders, for the moderate remuneration of a halfpenny. It may be justly enough suspected,

* In the Appendix to the first volume of the Border Minstrelsy, is a very humorous poem, printed from the Bannatyne MS. called, “ Ane Interlude of the Laying of a Gaist.”

that she had the sustenance of Porteous committed to her management during Sir Alexander's absence in Edinburgh.

In the year 1683, a young girl, in the parish of Monzie, Perthshire, after having suffered greatly from witchcraft, had some wonderful revelations, carefully recorded in a MS. preserved by Wodrow. From this several extracts are subjoined, much blasphemous folly being of course omitted.

“ A Relation of a rare Providence that befell a young Childe, daughter to a Husband Man, or Farmorer, whose name is Donald M'Grigor, dwelling in the Parochin of Monzie, living within the Sheriffdome of Perth:—The child being about the age of ten years, and was bewitched by some woman upon the account of envy conceived against her father beforenamed, who, by his earnest and assiduous prayers, and the prayers of some of his acquaintance whom he invited to join with him in supplicating God to deliver his child from the power of Satan and his instruments, there was a wonderful deliverance granted; the history whereof has been attested by many credible witnesses, and especially her wonderfull speeches in the trances, is attested by a religious gentleman, and a considerable heritor in that paroch, named James Campbell of Monzie, who, pairtlie by himself, and pairtlie from his honest neighbours and acquaintance whom he trusts, received the relation and history of that mercifull dispensation of Providence; and from him the writter heirof received his notes heirof in write, which he thinks himself bound in conscience to publish, so far as in him lyes.

“ Upon the 24th of September, 1683, the child, a daughter to Donald M'Grigor, was coming to her father's house from ane other house, a little distant from her father's house, about 8 hours at night, following her brother a little way behind him, and waxing fearfull, she began to run to overtake him, and then heard something cry not far of like ane owle; for haste she fell, and being more affraid, continued so till the 4th of January, 1684, and then began to see a man coming into her with a woman in every hand; the man was covered with a shirt to the ground; the women she could not know at the first. The man offered her a dollar if she would go with him, which she refused constantly; this they did 3 or 4 nights. Then the women said, ‘ We will take ane other course if she will not take it;’ then about the 6th of January the two women appeared alone, with a bone of a horse head, whereof they made a picture, covering it with clay; then immediately appeared a black man, and some-

times he appeared like an ox. They desired him to make them a naile to put in the head of the picture, and he should have the child for whom the picture was made, which he did, the childe being all this time exceedingly affrighted, and calling to those y^t were in the house to take them from her, but they saw nor heard nothing; then the child thought she saw them put the picture betwix two fires for some space, during which time she was sore tormented; then they removed a little, and she had some ease; then they putt it in the fire again, and the child was in a sore torment, and exceeding hott and affrighted. Thus she was five or six times that night, and thus she was from that night, being the 8th of January, untill the 10th of February, taking some nights 8 fitts, some nights 10 or 12, and was ordinarily from 7 or 8, to 10 or 12 at night, seeing them, and tormented by fitts, as said is; and she heard the women say, 'That they rather had the father than the child.' Many more circumstances are here omitted to be recorded.*

"The way of the child her recovery.—Her father, Donald M'Grigor, being exceedingly grieved with so hard a providence, and dayly praying to God earnestly for his daughter's recovery all this time, and seeking the help of some by physick, it was told him that such means would do her no good, but a number of godly persons to pray for her was more suitable; so he, being earnest thereuntill, invited severall praying persons, to whom he communicate his

* Long before this affair there must have been a very celebrated witch in that neighbourhood, as Montgomery, giving an account of Polwarth's infancy, and his discovery by the wierd sisters, says—

"Syne backward on horseback bravely they bendit,
That cam-nosed cocatrice they quite with them carry,
To Kait of Crief in a creil soon they gar send it,
Where seven year it sat baith singid and sairie."

There is a tradition current in Perthshire, that a witch who had been nurse to one of the antient and honourable family of Inchbrakie, was strangled and burnt on a hill called the Knock of Crieff, near her own cave, a small hole in the rock, still to be seen. This woman, whose names were Catharine Niven, (the last probably bestowed by her neighbours from that of the Fairy Queen) when led forth to the stake, is said to have spit from her mouth a small blue stone, which she gave to her foster-child, the Laird of Inchbrakie, telling him, that while the stone was preserved by him and his heirs, the house should flourish. This jewel was set in a ring, and is still in the possession of the family.

trouble, about the 6th of February, to deal earnestly with God, which they did; and at the 10th of February, at night, they waiting on her according to the former manner, at the 6th fit of torment she apprehended that she did see a white hand, so exceedingly white, that she never did see any thing before so white, coming in betwixt her and them, whereupon she did see the devill starting backward as affraid; whereupon she heard a voice saying,—‘Be not affraid for them; for if you learn the word of God, you shall be no more troubled with them, for you belong not to them, but to me.’ The devill replied, ‘That he cared not, he had many better.’ Then the hand did take the picture from the old woman, and dashed it to a stone. Then the old woman said to the devill, ‘Wel, wel, this is not the way I expected this should be; I see we must leave off this;’ whereupon the devill, the old woman, and her daughter, joyned hands as if they had been going to dance, and so parted and vanished. Whereupon the childe said, ‘God be thanked, I think I shall never be troubled with yonder folk any more;’ and her mother hearing her say so, said, ‘I wish it be so; but how know you that?’ To this the child answered, ‘A voice hath told me;’ whereupon the child did sing the two first verses of the 23d psalm, and it is to be remembered, she could not say a word of it before that time; nor in her former trouble could she be made to say, God help me, all the time they tormented her, altho several times she was commanded by the Laird of Monzie, and her parents and others, but could never obey.”

She then, in her trances, began to converse with angels; they came to her nightly, and talked a great deal of stuff. “Thir angells had sometimes white feathers in their hands like wings. She told her father that they commanded her to learn the 11th psalm, &c. She asked, ‘May they (the devils I suppose) not easily get advantage of my father, he goes not to the kirk—(note that he was a nonconformist)—O, what folk are these that go not to kirk?’ To this they answered, ‘They may be much better than these who go to kirk; and ye ought not to call them whiggs, but of the true catholick church.’ Upon a time, her mother desired her daughter to spear at these angells who appeared to her, what came of young children not baptized, for her mother thought they could not go to heaven. They answered, ‘That some of them may go to hell as wel as others.’ The child also told, that in the time of her trouble she did

see the devill, having a pig betwixt his feet and oyl in it, wherewith she did see him putt some thereof with his hand on the forehead of the two women."

After this the angels carried her in spirit to heaven, where (*horresco referens*) she was seated beside our blessed Saviour, whose conversations with her are recorded at much length. "Several of her neighbours said to her that she was taken away with the fairies, and that it was but the devil yet that was dealing with her." In heaven she saw Adam, "exceeding glorious, with a crown upon his head;" and by and by "Job, whom she said was most beautifull of all, and many others." She was told, "that when she was tormented, that she thought she saw the old woman and her daughter, and the black man, in her father's house; but they were in their own house; and whereas she thought they put the picture 'twixt two fires, it was 'twixt two coals only, and that the old woman had ane enchanted stick fastened to the picture, wherewith she put the picture in the fire when the child took her fitts, and took it out of the fire when she had ease; and when they went to their work, the old woman sate next the wall of the house, having the picture; the devil sat next, and then the daughter; and that all the house knew of it except two; and that the old man made a thing like a man's finger within her father's house, thereby to destroy the child and a part of all that he had, but was not suffered to put it there; and that she had put the devil under her father's threshold, that the devil might have the first that went over it, which was the old woman's son."

"She was desired to speir, 'Whether the indulged ministers did well in accepting the indulgence, or those that refused to hear them did worse in so doing, or those they called Cameronians, in that they did?' To all which she received no answer, though she often repeated the question. At length, she said, 'It is a strange thing none can make you tell any thing but what you please.' Then she was desired to speir, if it was allowable in us to take the Test, for all the great men had taken it; and if they would not do it, they would hang or banish them? After she asked this, answered, 'Take it not at all.' She said, 'Some great folk have taken it. To this answered, 'The poor will go to heaven as soon as they.' She said, 'They will take their heads that refuse it?' To this answered, 'That matters not, tho' it were the night before the morn, if they go to heaven.' 'They may soon have their heads taken off, and go to heaven that speak against the Test?' Answered, 'They are not bound to do that neither.' Some space before that time there was a conformist

minister execute for murder, which he denied to the last that he had any accession to it. She was desired to ask, 'If he had any hand in the childe's blood who was murdered?' It was answered, 'That he was guilty of that murder.' Then said she, 'How can that be, for I saw him pray and sing a psalm at his death?' To this it was answered, 'Notwithstanding, that doth not make any innocent of those things which they have done.' Then she said, 'That she heard him deny it.' To this answered, 'It was no good that bad him do that.'* After some time, the girl took no more trances, and her angels left her. It does not appear what became of her subsequently.

"In the year 1683," says Patrick Walker, "there was such a long and great frost, that from November to the middle of March, there was no labouring of the ground; yet even before the snow fell, when the earth was as iron, how many graves were in the west of Scotland, in desert places, in ones, twos, threes, fours, fives together, which was no imaginary thing; many yet alive who measured them with their staves, exactly the deepness, breadth, and length of other graves, and the lump of earth lying whole together at their sides, which they set their feet upon, and handled them with their hands, which many concluded afterwards did presage the two bloody slaughter years that followed, 1684, 1685, when 82 of the Lord's suffering people were suddenly and cruelly murdered in desert places, wherever that heaven-daring enemy found them, and few to make graves or bury them, for fear of that enemy, who left their dead corps where they killed them."

In the year 1684, a Dumfries-shire woman, of the Presbyterian church, pretended to some wonderful visions, still extant in a MS., entitled,—"*Admiranda et Notanda. Ane Account of strange and remarkable Revelations which were revealed to a Christian Friend in the Shire of Drumfrice, in the place aftermentioned, both anent the particular Ecstacies of her Spirit, but more anent the Case of the Church severall wayes.* Before we shall begin to write of the same, we shall sett down some things of the person's extasie, both as to the manner and continuance of her extasies:—

"The person is a young woman, unmarried, of the age of about twenty years, whose name is Jonet Fraser, or, as we in the south use to pronounce it, Fris-

* This alludes to Duncan, the curate of Kinfauns, executed for the supposed murder of a child produced by his own maid-servant.—See KIRKTON'S *History*, p. 187.

sel, who then lived, and yet lives, with her father, Thomas Frissell, a weaver to his trade, a man of unblamed conversation in the sheriffdome of Drumfrice, in the countrey thereof called Nithisdale, and parochin of Closeburn, six miles, or thereby, from the town of Drumfriece.

“She is, and hath been for a long time, a person, in the judgment of all that know her, a serious Christian; and was for a good time before this befell her, more then ordinary exercised in private condition with God, as the relation after-specified gives the reader a little touch.

“She can read print, but cannot write herself; but whatever she saw in vision, was att times able to give ane exact account of it, after all was over; and accordingly did give the relation following to some creditable gentlemen, and some country people, her acquaintance:—

“The time of my exercise was eight years, and all this time was troubled with the appearance of a thing like a *bee*,* and other times like a black man, and that also at severall times, and in severall places.

“Then at the end of the eight year, I being at prayer, the black man did appear as at other times, he being upon the one side of me, and there appearing upon the other side a bonny hand and a rod in it, and the rod was budding; and I said, ‘Is that thy hand and thy rod, O Lord?’ And I was content to embrace the one, and flee the other. Then, upon that night eight nights, I coming home near hand unto my dwelling, I grew very drowsie, and fell asleep, and there was a voice said to me, ‘Awake, why sleepest thou?’ And there was lightning round about me; and I looking up to the top of a bush that was at my hand, there was the shape of a dove that went alongst with me in company to the house.

“Then, about three quarters of a year thereafter, the rod appeared again to be a double rod, or a rod that was springing and forthcoming; and after that time I was never troubled with the black man any more.”

Her first revelation was on the 4th of June, 1684, but it is very difficult to make out what her visions portended. “On the 5th day of November, 1684, I being at prayer, there appeared unto me, in a bodily shape, three persons,

* “There is a bee in your bonnet.

Eng. There is a maggot in your head.’

KELLY'S *Scottish Proverbs*.

(as to my sight all in white) and they goe round about me the way the sun goeth; their coming was still after one manner, when I was at my duty, only I discerned he that spoke first at one time, spoke first at all times, and so continued to speak by course, with Scripture notes, naming books, chapter, and verse, sometimes all the verse, sometimes a part." She was greatly concerned about the *suffering remnant*, and had many mysterious responses as to that. This intercourse with spirits continued for some years, and is very circumstantially detailed in the MS. At the conclusion of which is this additional miracle:—

" Besides what the reader has had formerly, he has likewise this following account of a passage that befell this holy woman, the 1st May, 1687, which was Sunday. This Jonet Frazer, and a young lass, a sister daughter of hers, about 17 or 18 years of age, having gone out into the fields, and both of them lying down on the grass near the water of Nith, which is but about a bow-draught from her father's house, and both of them reading upon their Bibles, and lying about the distance of four yards the one from the other, this Jonet Frazer is taken with a great drouth, and goes to the water of Nith to take a drink, leaving her Bible open at the place where she was reading, which was the 34th chap. of Esaiah, from verse 5 to 11, inclusive, which begins,—' For my sword shall be bathed in heaven, behold it shall come down on the people of Idumea, and upon the people of my curse, to judgement,' &c. And when she had returned immediately as shoon as she could take a drink of water, she sees her Bible is coloured with bloud, as she thought, though afterwards, upon inspection and tryall, it was not bloud, but red as bloud, and such as no person by the colour could discern from bloud; upon which she asks the other lass, ' If any thing had been near her Bible?' And she answered, ' Nothing, that she saw.' She asks, ' How could it then be that her Bible was covered over with bloud?' Which both of them going near, found to be the very same place where Jonet was reading, viz. from verse 5 to 11, and some farther of the 34th chap., so as the print was not at all legible. The other lass would have her wipe off the bloud, but she could not, but carried it as it was to her father, and a brother of her's, a godly young man, who is dead since, and some others, and did shew it to them, who were curious to taste it, and it had a welsh taste, as if it had been some metear; the hens and birds would not pick it up.

" The very next Lord's day, 8th May, this Jonet being in her father's barn

about ane hour, alone, some little time before sunset, she came to the door of the barn to read, and while she was reading, about the 49th verse of Jeremiah, the like bloud did cover all that place which she was reading, viz. from the 46th verse to the 54th, as I remember, so thick as it marred all the print, and made it unintelligible, nor did she ever perceive it fall down upon the book, or observe it till it did cover and spread over all that place; and it is to be remarked, she was standing within the door, the thatch of the barn being over her head and over the book that she was reading on, and that the bloud covered the print in the very time wherein she was reading, it spread over that part of it.

“The very next Sabbath thereafter, 15th of May, while she is again in that same barn, reading the 14th chap. of Revelations, the like bloud fell on the book, and covered all the chapter from the 9th verse to the end of the chapter, in the very act of the reading it, and which, she said, that she perceived it not, but about half ane inches distance from the book before it fell down upon it.

“The relater heirof is Maister Henry Maxwell, of Dalswinton, who dwells within two miles of the place where she dwells; saw the Bible, and the bloud upon all the three places of that Bible, which is still extant.

“It is not bloud, for it is as tough as glew, and will not be scrapt off by a knife as bloud will; but it is so like bloud as none can discern any difference by the colour.”

After this course of visions and bloody showers, Mrs Frazer, it would appear, fell under the suspicion of dealing with evil in place of good spirits. For in the year 1691, she was called before the presbytery, and confessed, “That she pretended to prophecying and seeing of visions, and that she had sinned greatly in being deluded by Satan causing her prophecie and see things future.” Her book was appointed to be examined by two of the presbytery; and on her second appearance, she acknowledged that she was possessed by some evil spirit, and humbly besought the prayers of the ministers, and of all others; upon which the further examination of herself and the witnesses was delayed, and we hear no more of her.

In “A brief Account of the Rev. Mr Thomas Forrester, Minister at Alva, &c.” extant among the Wodrow MS., is the following anecdote respecting an extraordinary dream:—“In the year 1684, when the persecution was very hot, Mr F. was among others that were intercommuned, and went over to Holland,

and the next year came over with the Earl of Argyle, in the same ship with him. He told me, that the first night he slept aboard, he dreamed that all the persons in the ship were fled, which made a great impression upon him, but he told it to none, for fear of discouraging them." What follows is transcribed, as showing how early Argyle and his friends disagreed with regard to the plan of their unfortunate attempt:—"He told me, that Polwart, Sir John Cochrane, and others, the chief persons concerned in that expedition, were displeased with the earl's conduct, but did not know how to signify so much unto him, and therefore pitched upon Mr Forrester, at whose hand they expected he would best take it; accordingly, he told the earl with all the caution he could; and the answer he got from him was,—*'Ne sutor ultra crepidam.'*" Mr Forrester, turning from him in a little pett, he took him by a button of his coat, and told him, 'That he did nothing in all their affairs but by advice from those who were to land at that time in England.'

"In the year 1686," says Walker, "especially in the months of June and July, many yet alive can witness, that about the Crossfoord-boat, two miles beneath Lanark, especially at the Mains, on the water of Clyde, many people gathered together for several afternoons, where there were showers of bonnets, hats, guns, and swords, which covered the trees and ground; companies of men in arms marching in order upon the water-side; companies meeting companies going all through other, and then all falling to the ground and disappearing, and other companies appearing the same way. I went there three afternoons together, and, as I could observe, there were two of the people that were together saw, and a third that saw not; and though I could see nothing, yet there was such a fright and trembling upon these that did see, that was discernable to all from these that saw not. There was a gentleman standing next to me, who spake, as too many gentlemen and others speak, who said, '*A pack of damned witches and warlocks that have the second sight, the devil ha't do I see,*' and immediately there was a discernable change in his countenance, with as much fear and trembling as any woman I saw there, who cried out,—'*O, all ye that do not see, say nothing, for I perswade you it is matter of fact, and discernable to all that is not stone blind;*' and these that did see, told what works the guns had, and their length and wideness, and what handles the swords had, whether small or three-barred, or Highland guards; and the closing knots of

the bonnets, black or blue; and these that did see them there, wherever they went abroad, saw a bonnet and a sword drop in the way. I have been at a loss ever since, what to make of this last.”*

After the battle of Killicranky, where fell the last hope of James in the Viscount of Dundee, the ghost of that hero is said to have appeared, about day-break, to his confidential friend, Lord Balcarras, then confined to Edinburgh Castle on suspicion of jacobitism. The spectre, drawing aside the curtain of the bed, looked very stedfastly upon the earl; after which it moved towards the mantle-piece, remained there for some time in a leaning posture, and then walked out of the chamber without uttering one word. Lord Balcarras, in great surprise, though not suspecting that which he saw to be an apparition, called out repeatedly to his friend to stop, but received no answer; and subsequently learnt, that at the very moment this shadow stood beside him, Dundee had breathed his last near the field of Killicranky.†

* Walker, in what he calls his Postscript to the Life of Peden, is very angry with the sceptical persons who threw ridicule upon this passage. “But that,” says he, “which the learned criticks and head-strong wits of young ministers and expectants quarrel most, and have upbraided me to my face for, is that 7th apparition at the Crosfoord boat, in the months of June and July, in the year 1686, two miles beneath Lanark, which, I say, I was there 3 days together and saw nothing; which is all matter of fact, and the naked verity, which I am only ambitious of in all my relations. But will these wild-ass colts tell me what stopped the eyes of the long clear-sighted Balaam, that saw a star to rise out of Jacob, a clear prophecy of the coming of the Messiah, and yet saw not the angel standing with a drawn sword in his hand, and his dull ass saw him and stopt three times? And what stopped the eyes of the men who were with Daniel at the river Hiddekel, when he saw the vision, but they saw not, but greatly quaked? And what stopped the ears of Paul’s companions in wickedness, going the devil’s errand to Damascus, that saw the light and made them fall to the ground, but heard not the words of the voice that spoke to him? And what stopt the ears and the eyes of the captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, who was alarmed three times at night while the centinels were with him, but when they were sent off, he both saw and heard the different beating of drums, both English and Scots, in that strange apparition in the year 1650, before the English came to it?”

† Lord Balcarras’s first wife was Lady Mauritia de Nassau de Beverwaert, daughter of the Lord of Beverwaert, &c. a natural son of Maurice Prince of Orange. At her marriage, the bridegroom having forgot to prepare a ring, and borrowed one from a friend in the company, it proved a mourning ring, with a death’s-head on it; this made such an impression upon the lady, that she declared she could not live, and her prediction was speedily fulfilled, as she died of her first child in less than a year after her marriage.—LINDSAY’S *Memoirs*, MS. To this anecdote may be added some uncommon circumstances still remembered respecting the death of Grace, Countess of Aboyne and Moray, who, in her early youth, had the weakness to consult a

In the year 1697, occurred the trial and condemnation of many persons for bewitching Christian Shaw, a girl about eleven years of age, the daughter of John Shaw of Bargarran. The particulars of this comic tragedy were collected by John MacGilchrist, town-clerk of Glasgow, and embodied in a pamphlet written by Mr Francis Grant, advocate, afterwards a knight, and lord of session, with the style of Lord Cullen. The title of the work runs thus:—"A True Narrative of the Sufferings and Relief of a Young Girle, strangely molested by Evil Spirits, and their Instruments in the West; collected from authentick Testimonies thereanent," &c. To sum up a long story in a few words, the young girl, who seems to have been antient in wickedness, having had a quarrel with one of the maid-servants, pretended to be bewitched by her, and forthwith began, according to the common practice in such cases, to vomit all manner of trash; to be blind and deaf on occasion; to fall into convulsions, and to talk a world of nonsense, which the hearers received as the quintessence of afflicted piety. By degrees, a great many persons were implicated in the guilt of the maid-servant, and no less than twenty were condemned, of whom five suffered death on the Gallo Green of Paisley; and one man, John Reid, strangled himself in prison, or, as the report went, was strangled by the devil, lest, says Crauford, in his History of Renfrewshire, "he should make a confession to the detriment of the service." Yet he seems to have confessed abundantly, for he gave a long account of his first interview with Satan, to whose meetings he and the hagg were summoned by a black dog with a chain about his neck, the tinkling of which they followed; and affirmed that the foul fiend gave them a morsel of an unchristened child's liver to eat, as a sovereign remedy against confession when apprehended; but John did not swallow his portion, which, without doubt, was the reason of his subsequent ingenuity.

celebrated fortune-teller, inhabiting an obscure close of Edinburgh. The sibyl predicted, that she would become the wife of two earls, and how many children she was to bear; but withal assured her, that if she should see a new coach of a certain colour driven up to her door as belonging to herself, her herse must speedily follow. Many years afterwards, Lord Moray, who was not aware of this prediction, resolved to surprise his wife with the present of a new equipage; but when Lady Moray beheld from a window a carriage of the ominous colour arrive at the door of Tarnaway, and heard that it was to be her own property, she sank down, exclaiming that she was a dead woman, and actually expired in a short time after. 17th Nov. 1738.

“I own,” says the Rev. Mr Bell, in his MS. Treatise on Witchcraft, “there has been much harm done to worthy and innocent persons in the common way of finding out witches, and in the means made use of for promoting the discovery of such wretches, and bringing them to justice; that oftentimes old age, poverty, features, and ill fame, with such like grounds, not worthy to be represented to a magistrate, have yet moved many to suspect and defame their neighbours, to the unspeakable prejudice of Christian charity; a late instance whereof we had in the west, in the business of the sorceries exercised upon the Laird of Bargarran’s daughter, anno 1697, a time when persons of more goodness and esteem than most of their calumniators were defamed for witches, and which was occasioned mostly by the forwardness and absurd credulity of diverse otherwise worthy ministers of the gospel, and some topping professors in and about the city of Glasgow.”*

The case of the Pittenweem witches, in the year 1704, excited a considerable degree of interest, as it involved the clerical debates of two ministers, one Episcopal, the other Presbyterian, and was marked with the barbarous murder of a poor woman, named Janet Cornfoot, who fell a victim to the spite of the clergyman, the indolence of the magistrates, and the fury of a brutish rabble.

* These Renfrewshire witches were said to have roasted the effigy of Mr Hardy, a clergyman, after having dipt it into a mixture of ale and water, a circumstance not general in that sort of cookery. Miss Shawe, the heroine of this romance, afterwards acquired a remarkable dexterity in spinning of yarn, which she manufactured into thread; and it was from her attempts, aided by a friend who had learnt some secrets as to the process when in Holland, that the extensive manufacture of thread in Renfrewshire originated. About the year 1718, she became the wife of Mr Miller, minister at Kilmaurs. It may be observed, that the delusion, of which this wretched girl was the cause, had a shocking prototype in the madness (for it can be esteemed nothing less) concerning sorcery, that possessed New England in the year 1690. The reader is referred to Mather’s pamphlets for the details, among which the confessions are abundantly ridiculous. From one of these, but of a prior date, it would appear that *Brownie* had made his way to New England. Mary Johnson, tried upon an indictment of familiarity with the devil, confessed “that a devil was wont to do her many services. Her master once blamed her for not carrying out the ashes, and a devil did clear the hearth for her afterwards. Her master, sending her into a field to drive out the hogs that used to break into it, a devil would *scoure* them out, and make her laugh to see how he *feaz’d* ’em about,” &c. See “The Witty and Entertaining Exploits of George Buchanan, commonly called the King’s Fool,” for an account of a Scottish Brownie, servant to an Italian lord, which George baptised by surprise. This was in Italy, and the spirit “went off weeping and crying, O, let never a rogue put trust in his own countryman after me.”

Her accuser, a fellow who pretended to take fits till he found them no longer profitable, *delated* her, together with Beatrix Laing, and other women, for having afflicted him with this disorder. Immediately the witches were seized, and several drunkards, as guards, set over them in prison, who, by dint of pricking, and keeping them from any repose, extorted confessions, afterwards retracted,—Cornfoot declaring, that the minister himself beat her with his staff in order to make her speak out. At last she managed an escape from confinement; but being caught and brought back to Pittenweem, the mob assailed her, and nobody attempting her rescue, she was hauled down to the beach, pelted with rubbish, swung in a rope betwixt a ship and the shore, and a heavy door being thrown upon her, over which stones were heaped, she was finally pressed to death. This horrible transaction gave rise to several pamphlets, criminating and defending the minister and the magistrates; but the murderers were never brought to justice. “Beattie Laing,” says the continuator of *Satan’s Invisible World*, “died *undesired* in her bed, in St Andrews; and all the other witches died miserable and violent deaths.”*

In the year 1705, we learn from the Parochial Register of Spott, that many witches were burnt on the top of Spott Loan.† After which, the most remarkable event of the kind to be met with, is the supernatural molestation of a clergyman’s house at Kinross, in the year 1718.‡ This is recorded in a curious printed sheet, here subjoined entire, having for its title, “*Endorism, or a strange Relation of Dreamers or Spirits that trouble the Minister’s House of Kinross.*”

* In the year 1628, Dr Lamb, a wizard who had been under the protection of the Duke of Buckingham, was torn to pieces by the London Mob.—*WILSON’S History*, p. 287. And, incredible to relate, on the 22d of April, 1751, a rabble of about 5000 persons beset the work-house at Tring, in Hertfordshire, where seizing Luke Osborne and his wife, two persons suspected of witchcraft, they ducked them in a pond till the old woman died. After which, her corpse was put to bed to her husband by the mob, of whom only one person was hanged for this detestable outrage.

† In the same Record is this passage:—“1698, the session, after a long examination of witnesses, refer the case of Marion Lillie, for imprecations and supposed witchcraft, to the presbytery, who refer her for trial to the civil magistrate. Said Marion generally called the *Rigwoody Witch*.”

‡ On the 10th of June, 1717, two Jacobite barbers at Cannonmills, drinking the Pretender’s health, it being his birth-day, one of them, a gentleman, and a woman, were immediately killed by lightning.—*Printed Relation*.

“Many deny that there are any such as witches, though we have it expressly contained in the Word of God, that there was a witch at Endor that Saul, in his distress, resorted to and communed with, but call them dreamers; these, I say, argument not so learnedly as politically, or for fear they or their relations should be sentenced for such; as for instance, Bettie Laing, who was reckoned and confessed herself a witch, in the town of Pittenweem, before a whole congregation of people on the Sabbath-day, was brought off as a dreamer; for, said she, if they burn me, both ladies in coaches and sidans, who are equally guilty, must burn also; and accordingly, she and many others of her accomplices were set at liberty.

“However, tho’ people should deny both spirit and angel, to be sure there are both spirits and angels good and bad; and according to Scripture, there may be witches, seeing there was a witch at Endor, let people say as they list; but what is the essence of spirits, or what way the devil makes use of these deluded creatures, or changes them into various shapes on occasion, is hard to determine. But without farther prefacing, to declare unto the world how the house and family of Mr M’Gill, minister in Kinross, hath been for a considerable time troubled by spirits, or such beings as the more politick and refined sort of high-flyers call dreamers, it is hoped will neither be offensive to this minister or any of his relations, or disparagement, seeing the godly are the only objects of the devil’s fury; for such as the devil is sure of, he does not heed them until he has them at once.

“The first occasion, then, of this gentleman’s house and family being troubled was, that there was some silver spoons then and knives amissing, (as is reported) which were found in the barn among the straw sometime afterwards, stuck up in the floor, with a big dish, all nipped to pieces; after which time they could eat no meat but what was full of pins; as one day as the minister was eating of an egg, he found a pin in the egg, and mostly what meat they eat, they had still abundance of pins; wherefore the minister’s wife would make ready a piece of meat herself, that she might be sure there was no deceit in the matter; but when it was presented to the table, there were several pins in it, particularly a big pin the minister used for his gown. Another day there was a pair of sheets put to the green among other peoples, which were all nipped to pieces, and none of the linnings belonging to others troubled. A certain night several

went to watch the house, and as one was praying, down falls the press, wherein was abundance of lime-vessels, all broke to pieces; also at one other time, the dreamers, or spirits as they call them, not only tore and destroyed the clothes that were locked up in a coffer to pieces, but the very laps of a gentlewoman's hood, as she was walking along the floor, were clipt away; as also a woman's gown-tail, and many other things not proper to mention. Moreover, a certain girl eating some meat, turned so very sick, that being necessitate to vomit, cast up five pins; also a stone thrown down the chimney, wambled a space in the floor, and then took a flight out at the window. Also there was thrown in the fire the minister's Bible, which would not burn; but a plate and two silver spoons thrown in, melted immediately; also what bread is fired, were the meal never so fine, its all made useless, and many other things, which are both needless and sinful to mention. Now, is it not very sad that such a good and godly family should be so molested, that employ their time no other way but by praying, reading, and serious meditation, while others, who are wicked livers all their lifetime, and avowedly serve that wicked one, are never troubled.

"It's true, these bad spirits or dreamers have no power of their bodies, but they exceedingly disquiet the family; which, that the event may redound to God's glory, and this honest families good, ought to be the serious prayer of all good people. Printed, June 1718."

Among the Wodrow MSS. are some letters and other papers concerning a case of witchcraft which occurred in Caithness in the year 1718. As these have never been printed, and are extremely curious, they are subjoined.

To the Rev. Mr Robert Wodrow, Minister of the Gospel at Eastwood, near Glasgow.

Very Reverend dear Brother,

I longed much for an opportunity of sending you some informations that I promised you about witches and witchcraft. The most remarkable that has been of that kind in this country, is what happened in the parish of Redcastle, or Kilernan, where the poor man who was Episcopal minister in that place, lost his life by means of witchcraft. I caused a friend of mine to ask the gentleman who was sheriff-depute of Ross at that time, and who lives now near Inverness, where the best account of this matter might be had; but he said that

the process, with all the papers and informations relating to it, was taken out of their hands by the king's advocate; and I reckon it's not impossible for yourself to procure these papers. The thing happened sometime I think in King William's reign. I shall endeavour, if you desire it, to send the exactest information that can be had from gentlemen and country people who remember it.

In the mean time, I send you inclosed information relating to a story of that nature that hapned much more lately in Caithness; I procured them by means of Alexander Frazer, at Scrabster, collector of the rents of that bishoprick, who is my uncle. There is the confession of Margaret Nin-Gilbert, or Gilbertson, attested, as I desired it should be, by the Rev. Mr Innes. There is a copy of Montgomerie's petition, a copy of the king's advocate, Mr Dundas's letter to the shiref-depute, and his return.

My uncle, the above-mentioned gentleman, informs me farther, as follows: That Margaret Olson, mentioned in the information, was a tennant of his, whom he had removed for the wickedness of her behaviour, and put this William Montgomerie in her place. She was heard to threaten and curse him (Montgomerie;) and a little time after her removal the house was infested in manner as the petition bears; that he was informed that Nin-Gilbert confessed privately that this Olson solicited her to do mischief to Mr Frazer, which she said she had no power nor inclination to do; but that one night as he was crossing a bridge, there was an attempt upon him, about which they were divided among themselves. He says he remembers perfectly well that his horse gave him a great deal adoe at that place, but that by the Lord's goodness he escaped. He says, which likewise I remember, that he had great sickness for five or six weeks about the time these people were caught, which, though it was the common story at that time, he will not hear imputed to them. He adds, that he thought this matter was the more carelessly managed that this Nin-Gilbert had been midwife to a certain great lady, and that the rest against whom she informed being put in the same prison with her, she was in a manner murdered; this you'll keep to yourself. Since I saw you in Edinburgh in May last, there has been great noise of witchcraft in the parish of Loth, in Sutherland, by which the minister is said to have suffered. He is not yet recovered; however, the thing has been examined into, and the women were, I

know; before the presbytery. There was likewise very lately a rumour of that kind in the parish of Tarbat. If there is any thing in these stories, and that you desire to know more about them, I shall endeavour to procure the best information.

I presume to suggest this much with respect to the publication of these things, that mankind will not have such value for this subject as will make them be at great expence of time or money for it; but I reckon an exact, judicious, and compendious performance will be very acceptable to the world; nor know I any hand it is so likely to thrive in as yours. I shall be ambitious to serve you in this, and any thing else you shall command me, being,

V. R. D. B.

Your affection brother and humble servant in the Lord,

JAMES FRASER.

Alness, in Ross, Aprile 18, 1727.

The King's Advocate to the Sheriff-Depute of Caithness. Edinr. 5th March, 1719.

Sir,

There are severall accounts come up here of very extraordinary, if not fabulous discoveries of witchcrafts and using of poisons in your county, and severall of the persons are said to be in custody, I suppose by your warrand; if there be any truth in these stories, I might be surprised that you have transmitted no account of it to me. It is the part of every sherrif, when things of that kind fall out, I mean discoveries of high crimes, to transmitt ane account of it to those whom his majesty is pleased to employ to look after these matters, it being our duty to advise both as to the proper method and court before which these things are to be prosecute, and to take care that crimes neither be shifted nor too rashly prosecute. I therefore give you the trouble of this to desire you, with the first opportunity, to transmitt to me full copies of the examination and declarations either of those persons who have been apprehended, or as partners in those malefices, or as evidence with relation to every particular fact which the declarations of the persons apprehended may have led you

to enquire into; for I presume you know your duty so well as not to have neglected to take full examinations of every person who you could suspect was capable of giving you any light in the matter. I hope I need not put you in mind that you ought not to allow any person that may be mentioned by those wretches as accomplices, access to them, except in order to confront them, in presence of yourself and other persons of reputation. You will, I do not doubt, take care that none who are committed either be dismissed or suffered to make their escape till the matter be fully enquired into. There is some surmise here that you design to make a kind of tryall of it before your own court. I indeed give no credit to that, because I hope you know that a thing of that kind is both of too great difficulty to be tryed without very deliberate advice, and is above the jurisdiction of an inferior court; and although you may think yourself in some special case, because of my Lord Broadalbine's pretence to a right of justiciary, yet you must know, at the same time, that that right never hath been acknowledged by the government, and I have ground to believe never will be. I have writt to the Earl of Caithness, desiring him, as justice of the peace, to concur with you in any examinations as he may think necessary, which I hope his lordship will comply with.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

Ro. DUNDAS.

Answer. Thurso, March 24th, 1719.

Honourable Sir,

I had your's, challenging me for not transmitting to you an account of some witchcraft alledged committed lately in this country, which I acknowledge was my duty to have done; but exercising the office of sheriff only in the absence of the Earl of Broadalbine, and Ulbster, who are both at Edinburgh, I reckoned it presumption in me to transmit first the accounts to you, but directed them to be given to you. What information I can give is as follows:—In the month of December last, one William Montgomerie, mason, in Burnside of Scrabster, gave in a petition to the sheriff, representing that his house was severall times

infested with cats to that degree, that he nor his family were in safety to reside there any longer, and particularly condescended, that upon the 28th of November last, and also five days thereafter, he had encountered with the saids cats in his house, and with his sword, and some other weapons, had killed two of them, and, as he apprehended, had wounded some more of them; and because ane woman in the neighbourhood contracted sickness immediately after these encounters, craved ane warrand from the sherrif to inspect the woman, but could not condescend in his petition upon the person; and this representation seeming all the time to be very incredulous and fabulous, the sheriff had no manner of regard yrto. There was no farther thought of this affair from December, that the representation was not given in, intill the 12th of February last, that one Margaret Nin-Gilbert, in Owst, living about ane mile and ane half distant from Montgomery's house, was seen by some of her neighbours to drop at her own door one of her leggs from the midle, and she being under bad fame before for witchcraft, the legg, black and putrified, was brought to me; and immediately thereafter I ordered her to be apprehended and incarcerated; and she having been examined upon the 18th of February before me, and some ministers, and persons of reputation in the place, confessed her being in compact with the devil, and several others, as mentioned in her confession; and particularly, that the time condescended upon by Montgomerie in his petition, she was bodily present in his house, though she appeared to him in the likeness of a catt, and that her leg was broke by a stroke received from him; and condescended upon severall women who were present with her in Montgomerie's house that night, who were seized, and continue imprisoned, except two, who dyed the night of the encounter with the catt in Montgomerie's house, or a few days thereafter. You have the copies of petitions and confessions inclosed. This Margaret Nin-Gilbert dyed in prison two weeks or thereby after emitting of her confession; and there are other three defamed by her who continues incarcerated, but notwithstanding of great pains taken upon them, cannot be brought to any confession, therefore have caused summond several persons to see what can be exhibited and made out against them; and after examination you may expect ane account of the Earle of Caithness, who will be acquainted of the dyet of examination of the saids persons, so that if his lordship will take the trouble, he may attain the same as justice of peace.

There are, no doubt, information sent south of charms found with the said Margaret Nin-Gilbert, and that there were severall others defamed by her besides these seized; but as to the charms, I never saw nor heard of any found with her, nor was I present at her fying of any person but those who are mentioned in her confession herewith sent you.

*To the Sherrif-Deput of Caithness, the Petition of William Montgomery, Mason
in the Burnside of Scrabster,*

Humbly sheweth,

That your petitioner's house being infested with cattis these three months by-gone, viz. September, October, and November, to that degree that my wife was affrighted terribly att the fearfull and the unnaturall noise in my absence for most of these months forsaid at Mey, and sent five severall times for me to repair home, or else she would leave the house and flit to Thurso; and my servant-woman was so affrighted by the saids cattis, that she left my service obreptly before term, and would by no means serve me longer; and your petitioner having returned home, was severall nights disturbed by these cattis, and five of them one night at the fireside where the servant-woman only was, she cryed out, "The cattis were speaking among themselves;" and particularly on Fry-day the 28th of November, having got in at a hole in a chest, I then saw her, where I watched an opportunity to cut off her head when she put it out att the said hole, and having fastened my sword on her neck, which cutt her, nor could I hold her; (at last) having opened the chist, my servant, William Geddes, having fixed my durk in her hinder quarter, by which stroke she was fastened to the chest; yet after all she escaped out of the chest with the durk in her hinder quarter, which continued there till I thought, by many stroaks, I had killed her with my sword; and having cast her out dead, she could not be found next morning, though we arose early to see what had become of her. And farther, about four or five nights after, my servant being in bed, cryed out, "That some of these cattis had come in on him;" and having wrapt the plaid about the catt, I thrust my durk through her belly, and having fixed the

durk in the ground, I drove all her head with the back of ane axe untill she was dead, and being cast out, could not be found next morning. Declares, that both cattis were dead in my apprehension, and was throught with my durk, yet not one drop of blood came from them. Further declares, That after the strickest enquiry, none of these cattis belonged to any in the neighbourhood; the one night I saw eight of them, and this looking like witchcraft, it being threatened that none should thrive in my said house, and being informed that some person of bad fame fell sick immediately upon the back of this, and continued to be affixed to her bed, I earnestly desire the same person may be inspected, in case any wounds be found on her body. And your petitioner shall ever, &c. *Sic subr.* (WILLM. MONTGOMERIE.) Decr. 1718.

Thurso, 8th February, 1719 years. In presence of Mr John Munro, Minister at Halikirk, David Forbes, Bailzie of Thurso, Andrew Balfour, Merchand there, James Maky, William Munro, and Andrew Munro, Merchands there,

The said day, Mr William Innes, minister of Thurso, having interrogat Margaret Nin-Gilbert, who was apprehended Fryday last on suspicion of witchcraft, as follows:—*1mo*, Being interrogat, If ever there was any compact between her and the devil? Confessed, That as she was travelling some long time bygone, in ane evening, the devill mett with her in the way in the likeness of a man, and engaged her to take on with him, which she consented to; and that she said she knew him to be the devil or he parted with her. *2do*, Being interrogat, If ever the devil appeared afterwards to her? Confessed, That sometimes he appeared in the likeness of a great black horse, and other times riding on a black horse, and that he appeared sometimes in the likeness of a black cloud, and sometimes like a black henn. *3to*, Being interrogat, If she was in the house of William Montgomerie, mason in the Burnside of Scrabster, especially on that night, the — day of —, when that house was dreadfully infested with severall cattis, to that degree that W. M. foresaid was obliged to use sword, durk, and ax in beating and fraying away these cattis? Confessed, That she was bodily present yr, and that the said M. had broke her legg

either by the durk or ax, which legg since has fallen off from the other part of her body; and that she was in the likeness of a feltered catt, night forsaid, in the said house; and that Margaret Olsons was there in the likeness of a catt also, who being stronger than she, did cast her on Montgomerie's durk when her leg was broken.

4to, Being interrogat, How she could be bodily present, and yet invisible? Declares, She might have been seene, but could give no account by what means her body was rendered invisible. She declares, That several other women were present there that night, in the other end of the house. Being interrogat, How they came not to be seene, seeing they were not there in the likeness of catts, as were others condescended on? Declares, The devil did hide and conceall them by raising a dark mist or fog to skreen them from being seen. 5to. Being interrogat, Who more were present with her in that house the forsaid night? Confesses, That Margaret Olsons, spouse to Donald Barney, was present there bodily; *item*, and Jannet Pyper, spouse to David Mackryrie, was present there, with a red petticoat upon her; *item*, and that Helen Andrew, spouse to John Sinclair, in Owst, was present there, the said Helen Andrew being so wounded, and crushed and bruised, with either sword, ax, or durk, that she dyed the same night of her wounds, or few days yrafter; *item*, confessed that Margaret Callum, spouse to James More, now in Forss, was present there; and that — M'Huistan, spouse to William M'Ky, in Skaill, was there present; which — M'Huistan, in a few days thereafter, was cast, or cast herself from the rocks of Borrowstoun into the sea, since which time she was never seen. As also being asked, If ever she was guilty of any malefice to any person? Denied the same. 6to. Being interrogat, What brought her and her accomplices to Montgomerie's house? Answered, they were doing no harm there. To which Mr Innes replied, that the disturbing and infesting a man's house with hideous noises, and cryes of catts, was a great wrong done to him, having a natural tendency to fright the family and children. The premisses are attested to be the ingenuous confession of Margaret Nin-Gilbert, *alias* Gilbertson, by William Innes, minister of Thurso.

Nota, That Margaret Callum foresaid, denying any former conversation with Nin-Gilbert, asked the said Nin-Gilbert, When she was in company with

her? To which she replied, In her own house in Brims, when there were five or six hundred about the house, meaning devils and witches.

Nota, That upon a vulgar report of witches having the devil's marks in their bodies, Margaret Olsons being tryed in the shoulders, where there were severall small spots, some read, some blewish, after a needle was driven in with great force almost to the eye, she felt it not. Mr Inness, Mr Oswald, ministers, and several honest women, and Bailzie Forbes, were witnesses to this. And further, that while the needle was in her shoulder, as foresaid, she said,—“Am not I ane honest woman now?”

In the year 1720, Patrick Sandilands, (third son of James Lord Torphichen) a mischievous boy, took it into his head to declare that some old women and a man in Calder had bewitched him; he fell down in trances, from which no horsewhipping could rouse him till he chose his own time to revive—pronounced prophecies—made urine the colour of ink—was lifted up into the air by invisible hands,—and, in fine, so worked upon the fears and affections of his family, that Lord Torphichen at length gave credit to the falsehoods he uttered, and his tormenters were seized. From circumstances, it is probable that the child's brain was disordered. The minister of the parish, and many others, quickly caught the infection;—a fast was proclaimed at Mid Calder, and the sermon preached on that occasion, by Mr John Wilkie, minister of the gospel at Uphall, was afterwards printed by desire of Lord Torphichen. At this discourse were present two of the confessing witches; and Wilkie, in his preface, says that three more subsequently acknowledged their guilt. To complete the assemblage of sages, William Mitchell, the mad Tinklerian Doctor, *alias* White Smith, sallied forth from his shop in the West Bow of Edinburgh, in order to exorcise the evil spirits at Calder. “I went,” says he, “to Calder, the 14th day of January, 1720, before day-light,* being eight miles, in ill weather, fast-

* The Tinklerian Doctor, as he chose to be called, was a crazed white-iron smith, who imagined himself much wiser than the Archbishop of Canterbury, all the clergymen of his native country, and even the magistrates of Edinburgh! He printed a number of pamphlets and single sheets, full of very amusing nonsense, and generally adorned them with a wooden cut of the Mitchell arms. In one of these, he gives a curious account of a journey which he made into France, where, he affirms, “the king's court is six times bigger than the king of Britain's; his

ing, on my foot. I took the sword of the spirit at my breast, and a small wand in my hand, as David did when he went out to fight against Goliah; so I went to cast the devil out of my Lord Torphichan's son. So ye see that I was not lying in my letter that I wrote to Tillehewn, when I said Peter and I were two bold fellows. When I went to his house, his servants were eating and drinking, although he had appointed it to be a fast day, in order to get the devil out of his house. I do think they might have fasted untill the sermon was over upon such a weighty business; and they offered me some, but I took neither meat nor drink of his. Some think it a fast day when they hear a minister preach for the payment.

“ Then I went to my lord and said I was sent by God to come to cast out the devil out of his son, by faith in Christ. He seemed to be like that lord who had the charge of the gate of Samaria. Then I said to him, ‘ My lord, do ye not believe me?’ Then he bad me ‘ go and speak to many ministers that was near by him;’ but I said, ‘ I was not sent to them.’ Then he went himself and spoke to them what I said, but they would not hear of it; so I went to three witches and a warlock to examine them in sundry places. Two of them denyed, and two of them confessed. I have no room here to relate all down that I said to them, and what they said; but I asked them, ‘ When they took on in that service?’ The wife said, ‘ Many years;’ and the man said, ‘ It was ten years to him.’

guards have all feathers in their hats, and their horse tails are to their heels; and their king is one of the best-favoured boys that you can look upon,—blyth like, with black hair; and all his people, in general, are better natured than either the Scots or English, except the priests. Their women seem to be modest, for they have no farding-gales. The greatest wonder I saw in France was to see the bra' people sit down on their knees in the clarty ground, when the priest comes by carrying the cross, to give a sick person the sacrament. I have,” continues this eminent divine and historian, “ a good pennyworth of peuther spoons, fine like silver, none such made in Edinburgh; and silken pocks for wiggs, and French white pearl beads,—all to be sold for little or nothing.” See “ A part of the Works of the Eminent Divine and Historian, Doctor William Mitchell, Professor of Tinklarienism in the University of the Bow-Head, being a syse of Divinity, Humanity, History, Philosophy, Law, Physick; composed at various Occasions for his own satisfaction and the World's illumination,” &c. One of his last productions was a pamphlet on the murder of Captain Porteous, which he concludes by saying,—“ If the king and clergy gar hang me for writing this, I'm content, because it is long since any man was hanged for religion.”

“ Then I asked the wife, ‘ What was her reason for taking on with the devil?’ And she said, ‘ He promised her riches, and she believed him.’ Then she called him many a cheat and liar in my hearing. Then I went to the man, because he was a great professor, and could talk of religion with any of the parish, as they that was his neighbours said, and he was at Bothell-Bridge fighting against the king; and because of that I desired to ask questions at him, but my lord’s officer said to me, his lord would not allow me; but I said, I would not be hindered neither by my lord nor by the devil, before many there present. Then I asked, ‘ What iniquity he found in God that he left his service?’ Then he got up, and said, ‘ O, sir, are ye the minister?’ So ye see the devil knows me to be a minister better than the magistrates; and he said, ‘ He found no fault in God, but his wife beguiled him;’ and he said, ‘ Wo be to the woman his wife,’ and blamed her only as Adam did his wife, and the wife blamed the devil; so ye see it is so from the beginning. This is a caution to us all never to hearken to our wives except they have scripture on their side. Then I asked at him, ‘ Did he expect heaven?’ ‘ Yes,’ said he. Then I asked at him, ‘ If he could command the devil to come to speak to me?’ But he said, ‘ No.’ Then I said again, ‘ Call for him, that I may speak with him.’ He said again, ‘ It was not in his power.’ Then my lord sent more servants that hindered me to ask any more questions, otherwise I might have seen the devil, and I would have spoken about his son.”—Dr MITCHEL’S *strange and wonderful Discourse concerning the Witches and Warlocks in West Calder*.

In the Continuation of Satan’s Invisible World, are sundry particulars respecting these witches. One of whom confessed that she gave her dead child to the devil to make a roast of. The boy whom they were supposed to have tormented, in more mature life became an excellent sailor; and having obtained the command of an East India vessel for his gallant conduct in repulsing a party of the pirate Angria’s men, after they had boarded her, he finally perished in a storm.

The last execution of a Scottish witch took place in Sutherland, A. D. 1722, the sentence having been pronounced by the sheriff-depute, Captain David Ross, of Little Dean. This old woman belonged to the parish of Loth, and among other crimes, was accused of having ridden upon her own daughter, transformed into a poney, and shod by the devil, which made the girl ever after lame,

both in hands and feet, a misfortune entailed upon her son, who was alive of late years. The grandmother was executed at Dornoch; and it is said, that after being brought out to execution, the weather proving very severe, she sat composedly warming herself by the fire prepared to consume her, while the other instruments of death were making ready.

It is well known, that in the year 1735, the statutes against witchcraft, Scottish as well as English, were repealed; which gave so much offence to the *seceders* from the Established Church of Scotland, that in their annual Confession of National and Personal Sins, printed in an Act of their Associate Presbytery, at Edinburgh, 1743, are enumerated the Act of Queen Anne's Parliament for tolerating the Episcopal Religion in Scotland; the Act for Adjourning the Court of Session during the Christmas Holydays; *as also the Penal Statutes against Witches having been repealed by Parliament, contrary to the express Law of God!* With all the compassion, however, which the fate of so many unfortunate victims is calculated to excite, it ought not to be forgotten, that many of these persons made a boast of their supposed art, in order to intimidate, and extort from their neighbours whatever they desired; that they were frequently of an abandoned life, addicted to horrible oaths and imprecations; and in several cases venders of downright poison, by which they gratified their customers in their darkest purposes of avarice or revenge.

During this century, three pamphlets respecting heavenly revelations, and other wonders, were printed, two of which seem to have been compiled in England. The first is,—“The Elgon (Elgin) Wonder. Being a very strange, but true relation, how one Mr John Gardner, minister, near to Elgon of Murray, in the north of Scotland, fell into a trance on the 10th of January, 1717, and lay as if dead, to the sight and appearance of all spectators, for the space of two days; and being put in a coffin and carry'd to his parish church, in order to be bury'd in the church-yard, and when going to put him in his grave, he was heard to make a noise in the coffin, and it being opened, he was found alive, to the wonderful astonishment of all there present; being carry'd home, and put in a warm bed, he in a little time coming to himself, related many strange and amazing things which he had seen in the other world. Also his last Sermon, preached by him after his recovery. 12mo. Printed in the year 1717.”

“ Scotland’s Timely Remembrance, or Warnings from Heaven to vile Sinners on Earth. Being an Account of the holy Life of Mr Richard Brightly, Minister of the Gospel near Salcraig, in the South of Scotland, and of his dayly walking with God; how at several times he heard heavenly musick when at prayer, and of many persons that appeared unto him in white raiment; also how, on the 9th of August, at night, as he was praying, he fell into a trance, and saw the state of the damned in everlasting torment, and that of the blessed in glory; and being then warned of his death by an angel, he afterwards ordered his coffine and grave to be made, and invited his parishioners to hear his last sermon, which he preached the Sunday following, having his coffine before him, and then declared his visions; and how he saw Death riding in triumph on a pale horse, of the message he had given him to warn the inhabitants of the earth of the wrath to come, and of his dying in the pulpit when he had delivered the same; lastly, of his burial, and of the harmonious musick that was heard in the air during his enterment.

“ We, whose names are after-mentioned, do certifie the within printed relation to be true, and desire that the same may be published to the world. Printed in the year 1717.”

This seems decidedly an English forgery. Brightly saw the New Jerusalem, of which the 12 gates were 12 pearls, and the streets pure gold. “ He dropt down in the pulpit, which caused the people to give a great outcry. They fetcht him down and laid him in a coffin. It would have made the hardest heart to shed a tear, to see the lamentation that was made for this holy man. He was a comely corp, and died with the resemblance of joy in his face.

“ The names of the certifiers are,

Sir William Parsons,

Thomas Lestrangle,

Richard Moreton, Minister.

Thomas Rives, Minister.

Peter Laplasset.

Richard Jones.”

“ A Wonderful Vision or Prophecie which was revealed to William Ru-

therford, Farmer in the Shire of the Merse, near Duncce, upon the 19th of March, 1719. With a Description of what shall befall Great Britain, especially Scotland; wherein is an Account of the wonderful Things that shall come upon Scotland, viz. such as great wars, famine, and death, and people of a strange languish shall be froges throughout our whole land; with several signs and tokens before the accomplishment of these things; all which was revealed to William Rutherford, farmer in the Merce, by an angel which appeared unto him as he was praying in his corn-yard, who opened up to him strange visions unknown to the inhabitants of the earth, with the dreadful wrath that is coming on Britain, with an eclipse of the gospel, and the great death that shall befall many, who shall be suddenly snatcht away before these things come to pass; also the glorious deliverance the church will get after these sad times are over; with the great plenty that will follow immediately thereafter, with the conversion of the heathen nations. Meal sold for four shillings per boll. The truth of this vision is attested by the minister of the parish, and four honest men, who were eye and ear-witness. Edinburgh, printed at the foot of the Horse Wynd."

Rutherford, being a very pious man, was at prayer one evening in his own corn-yard, when, at 45 minutes past seven, an angel appeared to him, and desired that he would summon the minister of the parish, and four honest men, namely, Mr John Lamb, heritor; Robert Anderson, church-elder; Alexander Cock, farmer; and William Dove, cordiner, to be present at his revelations, that the world might have nothing to object to the truth of his appearance. The minister, (Mr James Smith) and the rest, came accordingly. The minister politely invited the angel to go into a house, but he would not, and proceeded to reveal what is set forth in the title-page. After which he ascended in the clouds, to their great amazement.

The only other pamphlet to be mentioned as worthy of notice, is "A Wonderful and True Account of the Laird of Cool's Ghost," which has gone through many editions. Mr Maxwell of Cool died in the year 1724, and shortly afterwards his restless spirit appeared several times, and to sundry persons; among whom Mr Ogilvie, minister of the gospel at Innerwick, had some long conver-

sations with it, which he committed to paper. These were published after Ogilvie's death, out of malice, or to promote laughter. Indeed, it has been said that the whole affair was a sham; be that as it may, Mrs Elizabeth Stewart of Coltness, who had entered into an epistolary correspondence on the subject with Mrs Hogg, Ogilvie's daughter, seriously composed, "Remarks and Illustrations on the Narrative of Cool's Ghost," which were printed after the good lady's decease, in the year 1808; in all human probability, the last pamphlet of such a nature that will ever be sent to the Scottish press,—for chanticler and the rising day are superseded by good sense and widely-diffused information, which have driven our ghosts to a few remote castles in the north of Scotland, where they are almost as forgotten as in the Red-Sea; and our witches, though they once, according to Lindsay, could muster around their prototype of Endor, in numerous groups, from

"Athole and Argyle,
And from the Rynnis of Galloway,
With mony wofull walloway,"

Are now dwindled down into a very few old women, deemed *unluckie* by their lowly neighbours, more from having been born with what is termed an *evil eye*, than from any formal compact with the arch enemy of mankind.

BAXTER'S "World of Spirits" having become scarce, the Editor is tempted to reprint, as a proper addition to the foregoing Notice, the Sixth Chapter, which Richard entitles,—“Instances sent me from the Duke of Lauderdale; more in other Letters of his I gave away, and some Books of Forreign Wonders he sent me.”

SIR,

It is sad that the Sadducean, or rather atheistical denying of spirits, or their apparitions, should so far prevail; and sadder, that the clear testimonies of so many ancient and modern authors should not convince them. But why should I wonder, if those who believe not Moses and the prophets, will not believe though one should rise from the dead? One great cause of the hardening of these infidels is, the frequent impostures which the Romanists obtrude on the world in their exorcisms and pretended miracles. Another is the too great credulity of some who make every thing witchcraft which they do not understand; and a third may be the ignorance of some judges and juries, who condemn silly melancholy people upon their own confession, and perhaps slender proofs. None of these three can be denied, but it is impertinent arguing to conclude, that because there have been cheats in the world, because there are some too credulous, and some have been put to death for witches, and were not, therefore all men are deceived. There is so much written, both at home and abroad, so convincingly, and by so unquestionable authors, that I have not the vanity to add any thing, especially to you; but because you have desired me to tell you the story of the nuns at Loudun, and some others, I shall first tell you of a real possession near the place I was born in; next of disquietings by spirits, (both of which I had from unquestionable testimonies) and then I shall tell you what I saw at Loudun, concerning that which I do not doubt to call a pretended possession, sure I am a cheat. About 30 years ago, when I was a boy at school, there was a poor woman generally believed to be really possessed. She lived near the town of Duns, in the Mers, and Mr John Weems, then minister of Duns, (a man known by his works to be a learned man, and I knew him to be a godly honest man,) was perswaded she was possessed. I have heard him many times speak with my father about it, and both of them concluded it a real possession. Mr Weems visited her often, and being convinced of the truth of the thing, he, with some neighbour ministers, applied themselves to the king's privy council for a warrant to keep days of humiliation for her; but the bishops being then in power, would not allow any fasts to be kept. I will not trouble you with many circumstances; one I shall only tell you, which I think will evince a real possession. The report being spread in the country, a knight of the name of Forbes, who lived in the north of Scotland, being come to Edinborough, meeting there with a minister of the north, and both of them desirous to see the woman, the northern minister invited the knight to my father's house, (which was within ten or twelve miles of the woman) whither they came, and next morning went to see the woman. They found her a poor ignorant creature, and seeing nothing extraordinary, the minister says in Latin to the knight, "*Nondum audivimus spiritum loquentem.*" Presently a voice comes out of the woman's mouth, "*Audis loquentem, audis loquentem.*" This

put the minister into some amazement, (which I think made him not mind his own Latin,) he took of his hat, and said, "*Misereatur Deus peccatoris ;*" the voice presently out of the woman's mouth said, "*Dic peccatricis, dic peccatricis ;*" whereupon both of them came out of the house fully satisfied, took horse immediately, and returned to my father's house at Thirlestoe Castle, in Lauderdale, where they related this passsge. This I do exactly remember. Many more particulars might be got in that country, but this Latin criticism, in a most illiterate ignorant woman, where there was no pretence to dispossessioning, is evidence enough, I think.

Within these 30 or 40 years, there was an unquestionable possession in the United Provinces ; a wench that spoke all languages, of which I have heard many particulars when I lived in the Low Countries. But that being foreign, I will not insist on it.

As to houses disquieted with noises, I shall tell you one that happened since I was a married man, and hint at more, which, if you please, I can get you authentically attested.

Within four miles of Edenborough, there lived an aged godly minister, one that was esteemed a Puritan ; his son, now minister of the same place, and then ordained his assistant. Their house was extraordinarily troubled with noises, which they and their family, and many neighbours (who for divers weeks used to go watch with them) did ordinarily hear. It troubled them most on the Saturday night, and the night before their weekly lecture day. Sometimes they would hear all the locks of the house, on doors and chests, to fly open ; yea, their cloaths, which were at night locked up into trunks and chests, they found in the morning all hanging about the walls. Once they found their best linnen taken out, the table covered with it, napkins as if they had been used, yea, and liquor in their cups as if company had been there at meat. The rumbling was extraordinary ; the good old man commonly called his family to prayer when it was most troublesome, and immediately it was converted into gentle knocking, like the modest knock of a finger ; but as soon as prayer was done, they should hear excessive knocking, as if a beam had been heaved by strength of many men against the floor. Never was there voice or apparition ; but one thing was remarkable, (you must know that it is ordinary in Scotland to have a half cannon-bullet in the chimney-corner, on which they break their great coals,) a merry maid in the house, being accustomed to the rumblings, and so her fear gone, told her fellow maid-servant that if the devil troubled them that night, she would brain him, so she took the half cannon-bullet into bed ; the noise did not fail to awake her, nor did she fail in her design, but took up the great bullet, and with a threatning, threw it, as she thought, on the floor, but the bullet was never more seen ; the minister turned her away for meddling and talking to it. All these particulars I have had from the mouth of the minister, now living ; he is an honest man, of good natural parts, well bred both in learning and by travel into foreign parts in his youth. I was not in the country myself during the time, but I have it from many other witnesses ; and my father's steward lived then in a house of mine, within a mile of the place, and sent his servants constantly thither ; his son now serves me, who knows it.

I could tell you an ancients story before my time, in the house of one Burnet, in the north of Scotland, where strange things were seen, which I can get sufficiently attested. Also in the south-west border of Scotland, in Annandale, there is a house called Powdine, belonging to a gentleman called Johnston ; that house hath been haunted these 50 or 60 years. At my coming to Worcester, 1651, I spoke with the gentleman, (being myself quartered within two miles of the house,) he told me many extraordinary relations consisting in his own knowledge ; and I carried him to my master, to whom he made the same relations,—noises and apparitions, drums and trumpets heard before the last war ; yea, he said some English soldiers quartered in his house were soundly beaten by that then irresistible inhabitant ; (this last I wondered at, for I rather expected he should have been a remonstrater, and opposed the resistance,) and within

this fortnight Mr James Sharp was with me, (him you know, and he is now at London) he tells me that spirit now speaks, and appears frequently in the shape of a naked arm; but other discourses took me off from further inquiry. These things I tell you in obedience to your desire, but as I said before, I desire them not to be printed. Atheists are not to be convinced by stories; their own senses will no more convert them than sense will convert a papist from transubstantiation; and Scottish stories would make the disaffected jeer Scotland, which is the object of scorn enough already.

When I was in Dorsetshire, prisoner, one Mr Jo. Hodder, minister of Hauke-church, in that county, told me of strange apparitions and unquestionable evidences of the actings of spirits in a house, yea, a religious house of that county, of which he was himself an ear and eye-witness.

In Dorchester also, the son of a Reverend Mr Jo. White, (who was assessor to the Assembly at Westminster,) told me many particulars of that house in Lambeth where his father lived in the time of the Assembly, which then was unquestionably haunted with spirits. I do well remember I dined with old Mr White there one day, and at dinner he told me much of it; and that that morning the spirit called up the maid to lay the beef to the fire. Of the two last you may be satisfied when you please: and at this present I am told that there is a house at Folie-John-Park, not three miles from the place, haunted with spirits.

But I must leave room for my Loudun nuns, and not write a book. In the year 1637, being at Paris in the spring, the city was so full of the possession of a whole cloyster of nuns, and some laick wenches at Loudun, books printed, and strange stories told, that few doubted it; and I, who was perswaded such a thing might be, and that it was not impossible the devil could possess a nun as well as another, doubted it as little as any body. So coming into that country, I went a day's journey out of my way to satisfy my curiosity. Into the chappel I came in the morning of a holy day, and with as little prejudice as any could have, for I believed verily to have seen some strange sights; but when I had seen exorcising enough of three or four of them in the chappel, and could hear nothing but wanton wenches singing bawdy songs in French, I began to suspect a fourbe, and in great gravity went to a jesuite, and told him I had come a great way in hope to see some strange thing, and was sorry to be disappointed. He commended my holy curiosity, and after he had thought a while, he desired me to go to the Castle, and from thence, at such an hour, to the parish church, and I should be satisfied. I wondered at his correspondence, yet gravely went where he directed me. In the Castle I saw little, but in the parish church I saw a great many people gazing, and a wench pretty well taught to play tricks, yet nothing so much as I have seen twenty tumblers and rope-dancers do. Back I came to the nuns chappel, where I saw the jesuits still hard at work, at several altars, and one poor capuchin, who was an object of pity, for he was possessed indeed with a melancholy fancy that devils were running about his head, and constantly was applying relicks. I saw the mother superior exorcised, and saw the hand on which they would have made us believe the names I. H. S. Maria Joseph were written by miracles; (but it was apparent to me it was done with aquafortis) then my patience was quite spent, and I went to a jesuit and told him my mind freely. He still maintained a real possession, and I desired for a tryal, to speak a strange language. He asked, "What language?" I told him, "I would not tell; but neither he nor all those devils should understand me." He asked, "If I would be converted upon the tryal?" (for I had discovered I was no papist.) I told him, "That was not the question, nor could all the devils in hell pervert me; but the question was, if that was a real possession, and if any could understand me, I shall confess it under my hand." His answer was, "These devils have not travelled;" and this I replied to with a loud laughter, nor could I get any more satisfaction; only in the town I heard enough that it was a cheat invented to burn a curate, (his name, as I take it, was Cupiff,) and the man had been really burnt to ashes

as a witch, but the people said it was for his conversion from them. At my coming to Saumar next day, my countryman, Dr Duncan, Principal of the College at Saumar, told me how he had made a clearer discovery of the cheat in presence of the Bishop of Poitiers, and of all the country, how he had held fast one of the pretended possessed nuns arms, in spite of all the power of their exorcisms, and challenged all the devils in hell to take it out of his hand. This, with many more circumstances, he told me, and he printed them to the world; but this is already too tedious. One more journey I made to see possessed women exorcised near Antwerp, anno 1649; but saw only some great Holland wenches hear exorcism patiently, and belch most abominably. So if those were devils, they were windy devils, but I thought they were only possessed with a morning's draught of too new beer. Some of the Loudun nuns, after great resistance and squeeking, did, on great importunity, adore their host, and the jesuites did desire us to see the power of the church, where all I wondered at was his blasphemy, in saying to the pretended devil,—“*Prostratum adorabis creatorem tuum, quem digitis teneo* ;” but my paper, as well as my discretion, calls for an end. Your desire, and my obedience, is all I can plead for your receiving so long a rabble, from, Sir,

Your most faithful Friend and Servant,

LAUDERDAILE.

Windsor Castle, March 12, 1659.

h
n

MEMORIALS

Duke of Hamilton, who raised an army in Scotland for relief of
the King in England, taken in prison, and was beheaded by Cromwell,
and beheaded anno 1648.

Memorials;

OR,

THE MEMORABLE THINGS

THAT FELL OUT IN MY TIME WITHIN THIS ISLAND OF
BRITTAIN.

FIRST, the extirpation of prelacie out of Scotland by the nobles and others in the land, and by the Generall Assembly of the Church, anno 1638, held at Glasgow.

The League and Covenant for defence of religion and extirpation of prelacie, taken by the parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, anno 1643, 1644.

The battells against King Charles the First, from anno 1643, and foreward, and the condemning and beheading of the said king at London, the year 1649,* together with the beheading of James

* "The head of King Charles I.'s staff did fall off at his trial; that is commonly known," AUBREY,—who, in another place, observes, "when I was a fresh man at Oxford, 1642, I was wont to go to Christ Church to see King Charles I. at supper, where I once heard him say, 'that as he was hawking in Scotland, he rode into the quarry, and found the covey of partridges falling upon the hawk;' and I do remember this expression further, viz. 'and I will swear upon the book 'tis true.' When I came to my chamber, I told this story to my tutor; said he, *that covey was London.*"—*Miscellanies*, p. 56.

Duke of Hamilton, who raised an armie in Scotland for relieff of the king in England, then in prison, and was defeatt by Cromwell, and beheided anno 1648.*

* Though the Duke of Hamilton professed the greatest attachment to the interests of his sovereign, and finally lost his life in the royal cause, many of K. Charles's friends ever distrusted his sincerity, or believed him to be a traitor. See a very unjust character of him in the Memoirs of Sir Philip Warwick, who says, "I was in the Presence-Chamber at Whitehall, when, after his father's death, he returned from his travels, and waiting on the king from chapel with great observance, and the king using him with great kindness, the eyes of the whole court were upon the young man. His hair was short, and he wore a little black callot-cap, which was not then usual." A poem, entitled "Duke Hamilton's Ghost, or the Underminer Countermined, (printed 1659) concludes thus:—

"As I like a Hocus Pocus did live,
Carrying on my designs by Legerdemaine,
So dealt they with me, in hopes of reprieve,
I spent my last minute like to Pedringane;
A traytor I lived, and a traytor I died,
And yet with both parties I never comply'd;
'Tis strange, you will say, but here is the reason,
I true was to neither, so suffered for treason."

In "The Scots' Figgaries, or a Knot of Knaves," a comedy, written by John Tatham, and printed at London 1652, is the following scurrilous ballad on "the Scots comming into England, put to one of their own tunes," which is amusing from its bad Scotch, and extreme vulgarity.

"Cam land land y'ar lugs, Joes, an I'se speeke a song,
Sing heom agen, Jocky, sing heom agen, Jocky.
O hes bonny deeds, an' hes prowis among,
Sing heom agen, heom agen, O valiant Jocky.
Sirs, Jocky's a mon held o' mickle note,
Sing heom agen, &c.

Oliver Cromwell, coming down to Scotland with ane armie of eight thousand men against us, for our calling home of our King

Tha breech o' tha Cov'nant stuck in hes throte ;

Sing heom agen, &c.

For Jocky wes riteous, whilke ye wad admire ;

Sing heom agen, &c.

He fought for tha Kirk, bet a plunder'd tha quire ;

Sing heom agen, &c.

And Jocky waxt roth, an' toll Anglond a cam,

Sing heom agen, &c.

Fro whence he'd returne, bet a lack a is lam,

Sing heom agen, &c.

An' Jocky wes armed from top toll toe,

Sing heom agen, &c.

Wi' a powre o' men, an' thair good Deuke, I tro ;

Sing heom agen, &c.

Sa valent, I wis, thay wer, an' sa prat,

Sing heom agen, &c.

Ne cock nor hen durst stond in thair gat ;

Sing heom agen, &c.

In every streete thay ded sa flutter,

Sing heom agen, &c.

Ne child dorst shaw hes bred an butter.

Sing heom agen, &c.

Noow whan oor forces thay heard on o're night,

Sing heom agen, &c.

Next morne thay harnest themsels for a fight ;

Sing heom agen, &c.

Thare Deuke wes tha mon that wad be sen stoot,

Sing heom agen, &c.

He feect us awhile, stret twurned aboot ;

Sing heom agen, &c.

Oour men that ater thes valent Scot went,

Sing heom agen, &c.

Had ner fond him oout bet by a strong sent,

Sing heom agen, heom agen, O valent Jocky."

Charles the Second, beate the Scots armie at Dunbar, September 3, anno 1650.

Our King Charles the Second, taking in an armie to England of Scotts, to draw the Englishes out of Scotland, was bett at Worcester, September 3, 1651.*

To an unprejudiced judgment, the last scene of the Duke's life ought to be a sufficient proof of his fidelity,—which was the more called in question, from the puritanical byass of his mother, who, in 1633, when her son led the English fleet into the Forth, in order to intimidate the rebels, is said to have appeared among them on the shore, at the head of a troop of horse; and drawing a pistol from her saddle-bow, declared she would be the first to shoot the marquis, should he presume to land and attack the troops of the Covenant.

* “Give me leave here to relate a passage, which I received from a person of quality, viz. It was believed, and that not without some good cause, that Cromwell, the same morning that he defeated the king's army at Worcester fight, had conference personally with the divell, with whom he made a contract, that to have his will then, and in all things else, for seven years after that time, (being the 3d of September, 1651,) he should, at the expiration of the said years, have him at his command, to do at his pleasure, both with his soul and body. Now, if any one will please to reckon from the third of September, 1651, till the third of September, 1658, he shall find it to a day just seven years, and no more, at the end whereof he died; but with such extremity of tempestuous weather, that was by all men judged to be prodigious.—Walker's History of Independency, Part iv.” “This,” says Echard, “is also related in other printed books; but we have received a more full account, never yet published, which is here inserted, as a thing more wonderful than probable, and therefore more for the diversion than satisfaction of the reader. It is a relation or narrative of a valiant officer called Lindsey, an intimate friend of Cromwell's, the first captain of his regiment, and therefore commonly called Colonel Lindsey, which is to this effect.—‘On the 3d of September, in the morning, Cromwell took this officer to a wood-side not far from the army, and bid him *alight, and follow him into that wood, and to take particular notice of what he saw and heard.* After they had both alighted, and secured their horses, and walked some small way into the wood, Lindsey began to turn pale, and to be seized with horror from some unknown cause; upon which Cromwell asked him, *How he did, or how he felt himself?* he answered, *That he was*

There was a great dearth in this land at that time, 24lb. Scots for a boll of meall, and as much for the malt.

in such a trembling and consternation, that he never felt the like in all the conflicts and battles he had been engaged in ; but whether it proceeded from the gloominess of the place, or the temperament of his body, he knew not. How now, said Cromwell, What ! troubled with vapours ? Come forwards, man ! They had not gone above twenty yards, before Lindsey on a sudden stood still, and cry'd out ; *By all that's good, he was seiz'd with such unaccountable terror and astonishment, that it was impossible for him to stir one step further.* Upon which Cromwell called him, *faint-hearted fool ;* and bid him *stand there, and observe, or be witness ;* and then advancing to some distance from him, he met with a grave elderly man, with a roll of parchment in his hand, who deliver'd it to Cromwell, who eagerly perus'd it. Lindsey, a little recover'd from his fear, heard several loud words between them ; particularly, Cromwell said, *This is but for seven years ; I was to have had it for one and twenty ; and it must, and shall be so.* The other told him positively, *It could not be for above seven ;* upon which Cromwell cry'd with great fierceness, *It should, however, be for fourteen years.* But the other peremptorily declar'd, *It could not possibly be for any longer time ; and if he would not take it so, there were others who would accept of it.* Upon which Cromwell at last took the parchment, and returning to Lindsey with great joy in his countenance, he cry'd ; *Now, Lindsey, the battle is our own ! I long to be engag'd.* Returning out of the wood, they rode to the army ; Cromwell, with a resolution to engage as soon as possible ; and the other, with a design of leaving the army as soon. After the first charge, Lindsey deserted his post, and rode away with all possible speed, day and night, till he came into the county of Norfolk, to the house of an intimate friend, one Mr Thorowgood, minister of the parish of . Cromwell, as soon as he miss'd him, sent all ways after him, with a promise of a great reward to any that should bring him alive or dead.' Thus far the narration of Lindsey himself ; but something further is to be remember'd, to compleat and confirm the story.

“ When Mr Thorowgood saw his friend Lindsey come into his yard, his horse and himself quite tired, in a sort of a maze, said, *How now, Colonel ! we hear there is like to be a battel shortly ; what ! fled from your colours ?* A battel, said the other ; *Yes, there has been a battel ; and I am sure the king is beaten. But if ever I strike a stroke for Cromwell again, may I perish eternally ! for I am sure he has made a league with the devil, and the devil will have him in due time.*—Then, desiring protection from Cromwell's inquisitors, he went in and related to him the whole story, and all the circum-

At this battell of Worcester did the king flee out of the land, and abode in Holland, France, and Spain, untill the year 1660 ; and as his escape was most wonderfull, so was his preservation there.

Oliver Cromwell, the generall of the English forces, makes himself Protector over Britain and Ireland, anno 1652 ; summons parliaments to sitt, and dissolves them at pleasure ; and, in a word, ruled with more absolute power and authority than ever any king before him did.

In February 1652, there was a great ecclipse of the sun about 9 hours in the forenoon on a Monday ; the earth was much darkened, the lyke, as thought by astrologers, was not since the darkness at our Lord's passion. The country-people teeling loused their plews, and thought it had been the latter day : Some of the starrs were seen, it fell so dark ; the birds clapt to the ground.*

There followed a great heat that summer, and in July of that yeir was Glasgow brunt, the whole Salt-Mercat, and a great part of the town ; the fire on the one syde of the street fyred the other syde ; I observed myself the wind to have changed the tyme of the burning five or six tymes, which occasioned the burning of severall parts of the city.

stances, concluding with these remarkable words ; *that Cromwell would certainly die that day seven years that the battle was fought.* The strangeness of the relation caused Mr Thorowgood to order his son John, then about twelve years of age, to write it in full length in his common-place book, and to take it from Lindsey's own mouth. This common-place book, and likewise the same story written in other books, I am assured is still preserved in the family of the Thorowgoods ; but how far Lindsey is to be believ'd, and how far the story is to be accounted incredible, is left to the reader's faith and judgment, and not to any determination of our own."

ECHARD'S *Hist. of England*, Vol. 2. p. 712.

* The day of this eclipse is still denominated by the common people of Scotland "the Mirk Mounday."

It is not to be forgotten, that, from the year 1652, to the year 1660, there was great good done by the preaching of the gospell in the west of Scotland, more than was observed to have been for 20 or thirty yeirs before; a great many brought in to Christ Jesus by a saving work of conversion, which was occasioned through ministers preaching nothing all that tyme but the gospell, and had left off to preach up parliaments, armies, leagues, resolutions, and remonstrances, which was much in use before, from the year 1638 till that time 52, which occasioned a great number of hypocrytes in the church, who, out of hope of preferment, honour, riches, and worldly credit, took on the forme of godliness, but wanted the power of it.

Oliver Cromwell rang Protector untill the year 1658, wherein he dyed; did propose contradictorie oaths to the oaths of alleadgance and the Solemn League and Covenant. Then the nobles and others, in place of power in the lands, renouncing King and House of Lords, binding alledgance to him as the keeper of the liberties of England during their power, did for themselves; so that, for a long time during the changes of government in this ileand, there was nothing but oaths taken this year, and contradictorie oaths the next, a practice hateful to the very heathen.

In the year 1659, after the death of Oliver, then protector, Richard his son, by his letter will, succeeded, who was soon thrust out by a partie in England and Scotland.*

* It has been said, that at Cromwell's death was a most furious hurricane of wind, such as had never been known in the memory of man, CLARENDON'S *History*, vol. iii. p. 505. But Anthony a Wood, in his *Diary*, dates this tempest three days prior to the usurper's decease. "Munday, (Aug. 30, 1658,) a terrible raging wind hapned, which did much hurt. Dennis Bond, a great Olivarian and anti-monarchist, died on that day, and then the devil took bond for Oliver's appearance. September 3d, Oliver Cromwell the Protector died. This I set downe, because some writers tell us, that he was hurried away by the devill in the wind before mentioned." It is certain,

The affairs of the island not standing in a good foundation, Generall Monk in Scotland, who commanded the English forces in this land, with the nobility thereof, and their party in England, calls home our exiled King Charles the Second, contrary to the expectations of all men, who comes home the 29th of May, 1660, and enjoys his throne and crown, to the wonder of the world, without blood.†

however, that a prodigious storm took place in the northern counties of England on the day the House of Peers ordered the digging up of his carcase with those of the other regicides; Vide *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 51. Wood mentions another furious wind the year after, on a Sunday, during divine service. At Oxford, "two or three stones, and some rough-cast stuff, were blown from off the tower of St Martin, *alias* Carfax; which, falling on the leads of the church, a great alarm and outcry was among the people in the church. Some cried murder; and at that time, a trumpet or trumpets, sounding neare the Cross Inne dore, to call the soldiers together, because of the present plott, they in the church cried out, that the day of judgment was at hand. Some said, the Anabaptists and Quakers were come to cut their throats; while the preacher, Mr George Philips, perceiving their error, was ready to burst with laughter in the pulpit to see such a mistaken confusion, and several of the people that were in the galleries, hanging at the bottom of them, falling on the heads of people, crowding on the floor to get out of the dores." Such hurricanes in Scotland were generally attributed to Satan or some of his agents. In the pamphlet, called a Dialogue between Maggie and Janet, Maggie says—"But dear Janet, ye're braw and lang o' the memory, do ye mind o' the waefu' blast, when the foul thief was raging in the air, and the deil dang down a' the kail-yard dykes, cutted the corn-stacks, tirr'd the houses, and blew giddy Willy's wig in the wall? They said, some young minister had raised the deil, and for want o' a cat, or some unkirsen'd creature to gie him, they couldna get him laid again, an' he brake the bridle, slipped his head, and ran awa' frae them.

Janet. 'Deed, woman, I heard tell o' that; and how Willy M'Neal met him on the staps in the mids o' the water, and shot him o'er, and thought to drown him, but he gade down the water like a meikle bill roaring."

† Echard, talking of Monk's design of restoring the king, says, "Though he had no fumes of fanaticism or superstition to turn his head, yet he seemed to hearken to, and receive encouragement from the predictions of Dr Laybourn, Mrs Johnson, and

Charles the Second being come home, at the instigation of — Hyd, who afterward was made Chancellor of England, and by the persuasions of Mr James Sharp, (and others) who was then sent to wait upon the king by some members of the Church of Scotland, (but therein did deceive them) changes the church government in England, Scotland, and Ireland, which was then presbyterian, into a prelaticall government. Mr Sharp was made Archbishop of St Andrews, and Mr Farefull Archbishop of Glasgow, and others in their dioceses.

The ministers and people of the isleand, generally dissatisfied herewith, themselves were casten out of their charges, both in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the years 1660, 1661, 1662.

The League and Covenant, abjuring prelacie, was burnt by the hand of the hangman, by publick order, at London, and a declaration taken in all the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by all these that were intrusted with publick power, declaring that League and Covenant unlawfull.*

others ; but more particularly the Earl of Nitzdale, who, in the month of October (1659), came to him, and told him expressly that the king would be restored, and that within some few months ; that he should be a principal instrument towards the effecting of it ; and that not so much as the blood of a cut finger should be spilt in the action."—This was Robert, second Earl of Nithsdale, commonly called *The Philosopher*. He died unmarried in the year 1667 ; though it appears, from papers in the Editor's possession, that he was contracted at Windsor (1622), to Lady Sophia Murray, daughter of John Earl of Annandale, both the parties being children. The lady, whose *tocher*, or dowry, was L.60,000 Scots, and who is not mentioned in the Scottish Peerages, probably died young.

* This sacrilegious martyrdom of the Solemn League and Covenant was strongly suspected by the Presbyterians, to be one cause of the plague which ravaged London in the year 1665.—“ I find it taken notice of in several papers written at this time, that the appearance of a globe of fire was seen above that part of the city where the Solemn League and Covenant was burnt so ignominiously by the hand of the hangman.

Others there were of young men that came in their room, who took the oath of canonical obedience; the people, herewith much dissatisfied, would not hear them, nor partake of the sacraments from them, untill such tyme as they were mulcted and fyned for their disobedience; then sundries resorted to the hearing of them, but not heartily.

In the year 1661, May 27th, did the noble Lord Archibald, Marquiss of Argyle (who before went up to London to congratulat his majesty's home-coming, was presently cast in the Tower, not being suffered to see the king's face, and sent down to Scotland to be judged by the parliament; Lord Middletoun being then made the king's commissioner, and Sir John Flessner the king's advocat, by whom he was condemned to die,) suffer death at Edinburgh. He was a nobleman very zealous for the Covenant and work of reformation. His noble lady, Lady Margaret Dowglass, a lady of singular piety and vertue, bearing this sad stroak, with other both personal and domestick afflictions, with great patience and incredible fortitude, giving herself always to prayer and fasting, and ministering to the necessity of the saints.*

The same year, June 1st, did Mr James Guthrie, minister at Stirling, suffer death at Edinburgh, a very judicious and godly man, always justifying his book, intituled, "The Causes of God's Wrath;"

Whatever was in this, it seems certain that the plague broke out there; and it was observed to rage mostly in that street, where that open affront had been put upon the oath of God, and very few were left alive there."—WODROW'S *Hist. of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 221.

* From a MS. in the Advocates' Library, it appears that my Lady Marquis of Argyll died 13 March 1678, aged 68; besides her issue by the Marquis enumerated in the peerage, she had another daughter, Lady Isabella, who resided with her sister the Countess of Caithness, and is sometimes mentioned in the epistolary correspondence of that lady.

and both he and the said noble lord exhorting all to adhere to the Covenant at their death.* At the same time, Mr Patrick Gillespie, Principall of the Colledge of Glasgow, the same is he who caused build that famous and late structure of the said Colledge, was also pannelled, and it was thought by all that he should have suffered death; but by his handsom address to the parliament, making some kind of acknowledgement of his rashness in preceeding practices, (which the other neither did nor would doe) and having obtained the commissioner's favour, gott free, and in a few yeirs after dyed at Leith.

About this same tyme, was the bones of the late James Marqess of Montrose raised up out of the common moor where they were laid, and his heid taken off the prick of the tolbooth, and laid together in a coffin, and very honourably and sumptuously buried in St Giell's Church, by the command of his majesty, all the nobles of the land, and his friends, accompanying.† The heid of the said Argile

* Several weeks after Guthrie's head had been fixed upon the Nether-bow Port of Edinburgh, the Commissioner's coach passing that way, some drops of blood fell from the head upon the carriage, which could by no means be washed off. Physicians were consulted as to the possibility of blood dropping so long after the head was put up, and the impossibility of getting it out of the leather; but they could give Lord Middleton no satisfaction, and the covering of the carriage was changed.—WODROW'S *History*, vol. i. p. 70.

† "There was a scaffold raised for taking down his head with safety, and no small reverence was given to that relict; there's some bowing, some kneeling, some kissing it, and so it was buried with the body. But it was observed in the mean time that the Lord of Gorthie, the gentleman who tooke his head from the iron-spyke, upon which it was fixt, died within some few hours; and the Laird of Pitcurre, one of Montrose's great adherents, after he had drunk liberally in the advocates' house that same day, went to bed in health, but was taken up stark dead to-morrow morning; and such was the testimony of honour heaven was pleased to allow Montrose's pompuous funerals."—KIRKTON'S *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 126.

was put in its place, and the said Argile his eldest son, Lord Argile, was condemned to dye by Midletoun and that parliament; but by the moyan of Lord Latherdale, the king's secretarie, was remitted and reprived; his estate returned to him, and all his father's lands and revenues, together with the title of earle; and the heid of his father taken down, and sent to be buried by the body, which, before that time, was carryed down in a cotch to Killpatrick, and from that in a bott to the buriall-place of his predecessors, being accompanied with sundrie of his friends. *

Some few months after this, the Commissioner Midletoun, with some he had made of his faction in the parliament, falls about an act of billating, by which he would have cut off some nobles in the land from all publick trust, particularly Lord Duke Hammiltoun, Lord Latherdale, the king's secretarie, then at London, and others of note; but Latherdale, understanding it by secret intelligence from his friends in Scotland, foreseeing the ill of it, acquaints the king therewith, and deals with him to prevent the mischief of it. The king therefore sent for Midletoun, his commissioner, decards him, and Sir John Flessor, his advocat, with him; calls for Lord Rothes, and appoints him to be commissioner, and calls a parliament, and sends down Lautherdale to see that act annulled, and matters put in a right order.

The parliament held by Midletoun votes in the bishops and the court of high commission, so that they were put in their full power as ever before; many ministers banished out of the land, Mr John Livingston, Mr James Sympson, Mr Robert Traill, Mr Robert

* "Argyll came home on Tuesday last; that night his father's head was taken down, and his son Lord Neill, with two hunder gentlemen, went to the wast cuntry with it."—*From a Letter of ANNAS, Countess of Kinnoul.*

M^rWaird, and sundry others. Many ministers also cast out of their place by the king's councell held at Glasgow, Lord Midletoun being then commissioner, in the year 1662; ane act being then made by them, and published at the mercat crosses of the shyres, that whosoever of the ministrie would not conforme with the government then established, should, against the ~~third~~ day of September of that instant year, remove themselves and families twenty myles off their charge, which occasioned a great desolation, in the west of Scotland especially; but within some few years, sundry congregations were planted with young men that came from the north; some few brethren judged themselves bound, in conscience, rather to stay, though without conforming, than to goe and leave their charges; others were not of that persuasion.

Some time before, in and about these years, the church of Scotland lost a great number of judicious and godly ministers by death, a few whereof I shall rehearse, namely, Mr Durham in Glasgow; Mr Bailly, there; Mr Aird, Mr Ramsey, Mr Binning, Mr Maull, Mr Welch; Mr Dickson, professor at Edinburgh; Mr Mungo Law, there; Mr Hamilton, there; Mr Samuel Rutherford, professor at St Andrews; Mr Blair, minister there; Mr James Wood, professor there; Mr Colvin, there; and sundry others. The Lord carried away a number of our able men in and about these tymes, such as Mr James Fergusson, at Kilwinning; and Mr Alexander Dunlop, who was minister at Paslay; and, since, Mr Patrick Gillespy, and Mr Matthew Ramsay.

In December 1664, there appeared a great comet in the south-east, and was seen in Germanie, France, Britain, and Ireland. It had a great taill, and appeared every night, continuing the space of a moneth. It was certainly prodigious of the great warrs betwixt the Dutches and Englishes, and of the pestilence and fire that followed in London. In Aprile 1665, the 25th day thairof, did the

plague or pestilence break up in London, the like whereof was never before there. It brake in also upon many cities of the nation, and many parts of that country. Millions were cut off by it in the city of London; for it continued in it about two yeirs, and many thousands were cutt off in the country by it. The inhabitants kept bonfyres in the streets, for purging of the air. The King did flitt his court down to Salisberrie; and which was a remarkable providence, Scotland all the while was free, notwithstanding of the privat commerce of merchants.

In June 1665, was the warr begun betwixt England and Holland, both parties being above an hundred saill of men of warr; was fought on the 3d of June, continued three or four days; the Englishes under the command of the Duke of York, the King's brother, who did valiently. There were four lords killed with a cannon-ball standing beside the Duke. One of the Dutch Admirals tooke ane oath, (which they call a sacrament,) to board the Duke's ship, and to kill him or not to return, but was valiently resisted by Captain Smith and his ship, who lay in betwixt the Dutch Admirall and the Duke's ship, and killed him. Then Opdam, the Dutches Generall, being blowne up, the Dutch were discouraged, and fled; but the slauchter was not considerable, nor the victory great, though the honour of the day fell to the Englishes. This war was begun on the account of the East Indian English merchants, who would have the Dutch doun, that they might be rich and great.

In June 1666, there was a great fleet sett out on both sides; the English fleet under the command of General Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, and Prince Rupert. Their fleet was divided: Prince Rupert had about 40, seeking the French fleet; General Monk had about 56, seeking the Dutches, and hapned on them. There was great valour shoven on both sydes; but at length the English be-

ing over-mastered with the Holland ships, under the command of De Rutter, the Dutches general, (a notable general for a sea-fight as is in the world,) was made to retyre, and yet in the retreat kepted always fighting until the prince came up, who made a desperat sallay upon the body of the Dutch fleet, and joyn'd with Generall Monk. Both forces being joyned together, they set a-fresh upon the Dutches, and makes them retire into their coasts and harbours. The Zealand fleet did notably at this tyme. This fight continued two or three days.

In September 1666, was the great fire of London; the like whereof no historie makes mention of. All within the walls were destroyed. Hardly could their best goods be saved; for as they transported them from on place to another, the fyre always came upon them; and now it is to be biged again in a new modell, with broader streets. The Royall Exchange and New Exchange, and the churches and all were destroyed; so that nothing appeared there but heaps of ashes and brunt gavells, and ends of houses standing up.*

In November 1666, was the insurrection in Galloway, and South

* The plague and fire which ravaged London were supposed to have been fore-shown by the astrologer Lilly, in the Cuts of his Monarchy, or No Monarchy, printed 1651; concerning which he was examined by the committee deputed to ascertain the origin of the fire, 1666.—*History of his Life and Times*, p. 140.—To whom he did not confess that he had stolen them, as Flatman the poet affirmed to Aubrey, "from an old parchment manuscript written in the times of the Monks." The fire was also predicted by a madman in bedlam, the fanatical porter of Oliver Cromwell.—*LESLIE'S Snake in the Grass*, p. 330. This prophet and preacher was remarkably tall, and possessed of a Stentorian voice, with which he used to harangue the attentive multitude through the bars of his prison-window. Among a pretty extensive collection of religious books, he had a large folio Bible, presented to him by Nell Gwynn, with which he is introduced knocking down Sir Roger L'Estrange and Dryden, in the *State Poems*. Vol. i. p. 447.

of Scotland, to the number of 14 or 1500 men, whereof 800 would been horse. The commander of them was Colonel Wallace. There was some ministers with them out of Ireland, as well as in Scotland. The first that did arise was but a few number, who took Sir James Turnour in Dumfreis toun, and kept him all the while with them; but in end encreased to this number. The grounds of their insurrection, as they declared, was, their oppression by the soldiers there, who fyn'd them for not keeping of the church, and hearing of these whom the Bishops put in the charges of their ministers now thrust out. They declared for the King and the Covenant, and only their quarrell was at the bishops newly sett up in the land.

Mr Thomas Dalzell of Binns being afore tyme called ov'r fra Moscovie by the king, was made generall of his forces in Scotland; who, hearing of the insurrection, did quickly call together his forces at Edinburgh, being seven troops of horse, and two regiments of foot, to the number of 600 horse and 2000 foot; and in a quick march came to Glasgow, and from that to Kilmarnock and Aire, seeking them out; who, when they understood his march, the Southland forces took their way to Lanrick, where they took the Covenant solemnly on a Sabbath day, and marched towards Lothian, in hope of assistance, but in vain; for they were hottly pursued by the king's forces, under the command of Generall Dalzell; and the king's counsell ordered the shyres of Stirling, East and West Lothian, to be in armes, and to assist the king's forces, which they did. At length, they attacked them at Pentland Hills; and that same day they overtook them, ane hour before the sunsett, they gave them battell; and, upon the first charge, the king's troupes were made to yield ground; but being assisted by the country gentlemen, they gave them a fresh assault, and discomfits them, and scatters them. Many of them were taken, and suffered at

Edinburgh; at Glasgow, some; and at Air, others of them,—all of them dying with this declaration, that they were not against the king, nor intended any hurt to him, but only against the bishops, and that new forme of church-government established, as their declaration yet extant in writt can declare. *

Sir James Turner their prisoner got off at this time of the fight, by making a covenant with his keepers, that if they preserved his life at that time, he should preserve theirs, in case of the king's forces victory; which accordingly he did, they keeping so faithfully to him.* It was remarkable, that from the day of the insurrection

* "I have met with several prodigies seen in the air about this time; and persons who lived then, of good information, have left behind them a very strange passage, that several people about Pittenweem made publick faith upon, that the night after the battle, and after some of these public executions, they heard the voice of a multitude about Welstoun Mount, praising and singing psalms with the sweetest melody imaginable."—WODROW'S *History*, vol. i. p. 261.—*Vide* KIRKTON'S *History*, for the account of a fire which was frequently seen to rise from a morass near Carnwath, and cover the house of a man who resided in the village, and was suspected to have murdered and buried some of the Pentland whigs in the place whence the flame proceeded. About 20 days previous to the battle of Pentland, two merchants of Haddington saw on a Saturday's night the apparitions of four men, in grey clothes and blue bonnets, standing round a dead corpse, lying swaddled in a winding sheet—"their dog was so feared that he durst not go forward, but came running back among the horses' feet."—*Satan's Invisible world*.

* Sir James Turner likewise endeavoured to preserve the life of Nielson of Corsock, who was executed, after enduring the torture of the boot,—“in which,” says Kirkton, “he screight for pain in terrible manner, so as to have moved a heart of stone.”—“The Earl of Rothes thinking he was not free enough, commanded to drive the wedges harder; the said Corsock replied, that although there was not mercy with man, yet there is mercy with God; at which saying Rothes did bite upon his lip, and did laugh, and immediately did sentence him to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh upon Friday, being the 14th day of December 1666, and his head to be affixed upon the West Port of Edinburgh. After the sentence of death was passed, Sir James Turner made all the friend-

to the day of their breaking, there was not a fair day, but storm and rain.

In the year 1667, the States of Holland and the King of England being yet at variance, forty-six of the Dutch sail came to the Rod of Leith, and shott hard at Bruntilland, but were not suffered to land, through the care and diligence of my Lord Linlithgow and Major Thomson, who with his men kept them off; all Edinburgh and the Lothians being in armes, and a great part of them in Leith. This was in Aprile; the Dutch fleet, without doing any hurt, removes.

In May 1667, the Dutch fleet comes along the coast of England, bravading there, and attacks the river of Chattan, and burnes seven or eight of the king's greatest ships.

In this year, and the two preceding years, there was great capturing both in Ingland and Scotland, and a great number of the Dutch merchant ships taken to the number of five or six hundred, which did enrich many parliament men.

There was a great drouth the summer of this year, so that the grass was gradually burnt up; the victuall whitned before the midst of July, and soon rypned by the end of that month.

In June and July 1667, commissioners were sent from the king to the States of Holland for peace, and peace afterward was con-

ship he could for Corsock's life, in respect that he had spared Sir James his life when it was in his power to take it. The aforesaid Mr Alexander Irving, curate in Parktoun, being in Edinburgh, and hearing that Turner was like to get Corsock's life saved, the said Mr Irving went to the bishops, and told them, that if they spared Corsock's life, they might as weel let the rest of the prisoners goe, for he was a chieff ring-leader to that rebellious party in Galloway. But this is worthy of a remark, that the said Mr Irving afterwards, when he was breathing out persecution against the paroch, one morning taking a sudden pain in his head, dyed of a few hours' sickness, his tongue hanging out of his mouth."—*Account of Neilson of Corsock, WODROW MSS.*

cluded betwixt the King of Britain, and the French King, and the King of Denmark, (for formerly there was warr denounced against both these) and the States of Holland. The peace was proclaimed at London and Dublin the 2d of September, and at Edinburgh the 20th of August 1667. So were we, in God's mercy, freed of our fears of the invasion of the Frenches and other forrainers, blessed be God for it.

December 1667, did the Earle of Clarenton, viz. Chancellor Hyde, (a man highly promoted by the king, even to be Great Chancellour of England, who was a follower of the king's father, and of himself in all his afflictions), fly out of the kingdom, being impeached by the parliament of England then sitting, for treason to the king and kingdom committed; and a paper he left behind him with his son for vindicatioun of himself, was condemned of treason by the parliament. The House of Commons was mainly active in the impeachment of this man; so he that was sitting the one year Great Chancellor of England in the parliament, the next year, when they sit, is forced to fly for safety. They alledged compliance with the Dutches and Frenches, then the kingdom's enemies during the warr. This same is the man who is father-in-law to the Duke of York, the king's brother.

In December 1667 was the parliament of England adjourned to the 10th of February 1668, and from that to the 20th December, and fra that to the 10th of March 1669, and from that to the 19th of October.

This year, 1668, was a pleasant year as to the weather; the summer was very pleasant, and a great crop through all Scotland, with a pleasant harvest as has been observed these sixty years past.—October 19th, 1669, the parliament of England, together with the parliament of Scotland, sits down the same day at London and Edinburgh, being called thereto by the king. The king's speech to

the parliament of England contains two things: 1. His desire of a summ of money to pay his debts, which was contracted in the late warrs with Holland; the 2d desire was the Union with Scotland, which King James, his grandfather, did begin to bring about, and this was seconded with a speech of my Lord-Keeper to the same purpose.

My Lord Lauderdale was sent down by his Majesty as his Commissioner for Scotland, which parliament, as aforesaid, sat down the same day that the parliament of England sat down in. There was great fears and great hopes among persons of different persuasions before this parliament sat down; fears amongst the prelatick partie that they should be cashiered; hopes amongst the presbyterian party that their government should again be restored; but both were disappointed by the commissioner's speech to the parliament at its down sitting; for in it he declared that it was the king's will to indulge some ministers of the presbyterian persuasion to preach the gospel in any church which was free, and whereto they had a presentation; but that it was his full mind and firm resolution, so long as he wore the crown, to keep up the prelatick government as it was now establisht by law; which resolution of the king's majesty in this was confirmed by sure letters from the king to his parliament in Scotland then sitting, to the same tune. And as this gave lyfe to the prelatick partie, so did it exceedingly discourage the presbyterian partie.

At this tyme, by order from the king, is Bishop Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, confyned within his diocese, returned from Edinburgh to Glasgow, without ryding of the parliament; and Mr Ross, then parson of Glasgow, and Mr Ramsey, then dean at Hamiltoun, confined in their parishes, for a remonstrance they drew up in name of their synod to present to the councell or parliament, which was to this purpose, that the councell would recall that in-

dulgence given to some of the presbyterian ministers to preach, and would more effectually suppress the conventicles that were then up and down; which desire the councell took ill, since it was the king's mind for keeping peace, that some presbyterians should be indulged to preach, and acquainted the king therewith. There was some things also as to the draught of the paper looking imperious lyke, which did exceedingly displease them. The parliament of Scotland, in a letter to the king, returnes thanks to his majesty for the care he has of his ancient kingdom in his desire of that union with England, and desires his majesty to nominat commissioners for treating with commissioners from England for that effect, reserving to themselves the full power of determination and conclusion.— November 16th, anno 1669, there was ane act past by the parliament of Scotland, declaring the king supream head over all persons, and in all causes, as well ecclesiasticall as civill.

In this month did one Thomas Scott, ane English borderer, murder Robert Donaldson of Birdstoun in Campsie, by cutting of his thrott with his raper, and then thrusting him off the horse, fell upon him, and cutt it through and throw with his knife, the man not being able to defend himself, though a strong man of body, his clock being at that time so far buttoned down, and heavie with the great rains he had received in his journey. This villan and incarnat devill did pretend great friendship to him at Edinburgh, and perceiving he had received money, pretended an earand to Glasgow, to whom the said Robert was very courteous, finding him a stranger, and in the equipage of a gentleman, proffered him lodging at his own house, having before dyned with him at Falkirk; and in the very rod that led in to his house he surprizes him with this stroke, and murders him, carrying away his horse and money; who afterwards was mervellously discovered, in the search of Robert's servants after him, by his hood, which they knew, and that he had taken, which he had

given to a carrier, and the day being rainie, the carrier puts on the hood, which the servants, when they saw it, quarells it, and the carriour told it was such a man's ryding before, (that was near to Hadington), whom they instantly surprise and apprehends, and he being struck with a terrible fear and horror, confesst the fact, is hanged at Edinburgh, and his carcass hung up between Edinburgh and Leith. This Robert Donaldson was a good man, and very courteous to all.

The use we would make of it, is, as we shuld be courteous to all strangers, so would be wise also toward them, and should always suspect these persons that seem to dog us in our way, and cast themselves upon us, proffering kindness, which is not ordinary, especially if we be travelling with money.

Bishop Burnet in Glasgow is put off his charge, by an order from the king.

The parliament of Scotland is adjurned to the 28th of July, 1670, and my Lord Lauderdale goes up to London. In the mean while some are indulged to preach, and some are put in prison for keeping conventicles.

The parliament of Ingland sat down the 14th of February, 1670. Things of difference were taken up between the king and them; strict orders are put forth against conventicles in England kept by the presbyterian partie, and some of them are cast in prison, as Doctor Manton and others, and they sit still.

Aprile 12, 1670, was Thomas Weir, commonly called Major Weir, son of Thomas Weir of Kirkton, put to death at Edinburgh, and brunt for incest with his sister, Jean Weir, laying in it about 40 yeirs; (he himself was of age 70) for incest with his step-daughter, Margaret Burdoun; for frequent adulteries with severalls and diverse persons, and other abominable things; and, notwithstanding of all these flagittious and horrid sins, he was a dreadful hypocrite and deceiver of God's people, in pretending to the fear of

God in a singular and eminent way ; making profession of strickness in piety beyond others ; presuming to take upon him to pray publicly in many companies ; and in the houses of his friends, neighbours, and acquaintances, affecting the reputation and character of a pious and devout man. He died obduredly, without any sign of repentance, and would not hear any minister pray to and for him, telling, his condemnation was sealed, and that now since he was to goe to the devil, he would not anger him. The said Jean Weir, his sister-german, was put to death at Edinburgh, and brunt for the same incest and witchcraft ; she also was under a profession of religion beyond others. The way how he was brought to confession was by torture of conscience ; he confessed that he never prayed in privat, but all his prayers were in public ; and, beside all his abominations foresaid, he added this to all, that he did ly with his servant woman, Bessie Weimis, in fornication for the space of 22 years.

Thus did the holy justice of God eminently shyne furth in detecting such wretched hypocrites.*

* Thomas Weir, one of the most celebrated wizards of Scotland, was born near Lanark, in Clydsdale. Of his father, or grandfather, mention is made in the Memoirs of the Somerville Family, written by James, eleventh Lord Somerville, who, recording a proffer of alliance tendered by Lockhart of Lee to Gilbert, ninth Lord Somerville, whose daughter Lockhart wished to secure as a wife to his eldest son, says,—“ It was supposed that Thomas Weir of Kirktoune, Lee’s own brother-in-law, was both the traytor that betrayed, and the person that obstructed the going on of this marriage.” The proofs of Weir’s treachery respecting the marriage, and also the sale of Lord Somerville’s estate to the Earl of Marr, are too long to be inserted here, but may be found in the second volume of the Memoirs, pages 73, 77. Major Weir’s mother appears to have set the example of witchcraft to her children, as Jean Weir, while in prison, declared, “ she was persuaded her mother was a witch ; for the secretest thing that either I myself, or any of the family could do, when once a mark appeared upon her brow, she could tell it them, though done at a great distance !” Being demanded what sort of a mark it was ? she answered, “ I have some such like mark

Aprile, 1670, an order was issued out by the king's councell, commanding all the presbyterian ministers off Edinburgh that were

myself, when I please, on my forehead." Whereupon she offered to uncover her head for visible satisfaction ; the minister, refusing to behold it, and forbidding any discovery, was earnestly requested by some spectators to allow the freedom ; he yielded. She put back her head-dress, and seeming to frown, there was an exact horse-shoe, shaped for nails, in her wrinkles, terrible enough, I assure you, to the stoutest beholder."—SINCLAIR'S *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*. Weir was a lieutenant in the Puritanical army in Ireland ; and afterwards, in the years 1649 and 50, commanded the City Guard of Edinburgh, from which he enjoyed the style of major. This base hypocrite professed wonderful sanctity, and used to pray in house-conventicles ; though it appears, from Sinclair, that he partially accommodated himself to the prelatick rulers, as " he had, before he was burnt, some charge over the waiters at the ports of the city." For many years he dwelt, together with his sister, in a house at the Bowhead of Edinburgh, where at last stricken, it would appear, with insanity, he voluntarily " confessed to several neighbours, and that most willingly, particular sins which he was guilty of, which bred amazement to all persons, they coming from a man of so high repute for religion and piety. He ended with this remarkable expression,—' Before God,' says he, ' I have not told you the hundred part of what I can say more, and am guilty of.' These very same abominations he confessed before the judges likewise ; but after this, he would never, to his dying hour, confess any more, but remained stupid, having no confidence to look any man in the face, or open his eyes. Some few days before he discovered himself, a gentlewoman coming from the Castle-hill, where her husband's niece was lying-in of a child, about midnight, perceived about the Bow-head three women in windows, shouting, laughing, and clapping their hands. The gentlewoman went forward, till at Major Weir's door there arose, as from the street, a woman about the length of two ordinary females, and stepped forward. The gentlewoman, not as yet excessively feared, bid her maid step on, if, by the lanthorn, they could see what she was ; but, haste what they could, this long-legged spectre was still before them, moving her body with a vehement cahination, and great unmeasurable laughter. At this rate the two strove for place, till the giantess came to a narrow lane in the Bow, commonly called the Stinking-Close, into which she turning, and the gentlewoman looking after her, perceived the close full of flaming torches, (she could give them no other name) and as it had been a great number of people stentoriously laughing, and gaping with tahees of laughter. This

residing in it, because of the conventicles that were kept in it, to make out of the town.

sight, at so dead a time of the night, no people being in the windows belonging to the close, made her and her servant haste home, declaring all that they saw to the rest of the family, but more passionately to her husband; and though sick with fear, yet she went the next morning with her maid to view the noted places of her former night's walk; and at the close enquired, who lived there? It was answered, Major Weir. I know," continues Sinclair, "there are some who strenuously assert the unreasonableness of believing such visions and apparitions. These, in all probability, have been a presage of his approaching death, and of the manner of it, links and torches signifying an honourable interment, which perhaps has been promised to him."

"When two of the magistrates came to his house in the night time to carry him to prison, they asked if he had any money to secure? He answered, None. His sister said there was; whereupon to the value of five dollars, in parcels here and there, were found in several closets. His sister advised the magistrates to secure his staff especially, for she also went to prison. After he was secured in the tolbooth, the bailies returned, and went into a tavern near to Weir's house in the West-Bow; the money was put into a bag, and the clouts thrown into the fire by the master of the house and his wife, which after an unusual manner made a circling and dancing in the fire. There was another clout found with some hard thing in it, which they threw into the fire likewise; it being a certain root which circled and sparkled like gun-powder, and passing from the tunnel of the chimney, it gave a crack like a little cannon, to the amazement of all who were present. The money aforesaid was taken by one of the bailies to his own house, and laid by in a closet. After family prayer was ended, he retired into the same closet, (where I have been) during which time his wife, who is yet living, and the rest of the family, were affrighted with a terrible noise within the study, like the falling of a house, about three times together; his wife, knocking, gave a fearful cry, 'My dear, are you alive?' The bailie came out unafraid, having, as he said, heard nothing; whether he concealed this upon the account his wife was with child, or otherwise, it cannot be well known. The money was presently sent away to another bailie's house, a great distance from Weir's, where, as was reported, there was some disturbance, but in broken expressions."

The indictment against the Major, after setting forth his disgusting crimes, proceeds thus: "It is no small aggravation, if anie can be, of so great wickedness and impietie, that being guiltie and conscious to himself of so great hyneous abominations, and being

At this time there were some outrages committed against the conformists ministers in the west of Scotland, (the people noway

altogidder void of religione and fear of God, he hade the confidence, or rather impudence, to pretend to fear God in a singular and eminent way, and did make professione of strickness, pietie, and puritie, beyond others; and did presume and tak upon you to pray publickly in many companies, and in the houses of your friends, neighbours, and acquaintances; and did affect, and hade the reputation and character of a pious and devot man, thereby endeavouring to conceale and palliate his villainies, and to abuse and impose upon the world, and to mocke God himself, as if his all-seeing eye could not see through the slender veill of hypocrisie and formalitie, and could not discover and lay open to the view of the world so great and flagitious lewdnes in its own colours, in which it does now appear."—The proof led against him, as to many points, was drawn from his own confessions, of which the most curious follows:—"Maister John Sinclare, minister at Ormistoune, aged fiftie years or thereby, married, sworne, depones, That yesterday Major Weir having sent for him, he went to the tolbuith to see him, and did ask him, why he had sent for him, and that the Major told him he was to speak his conscience to him, and mak a frie confessione; and that the Major did accordinglie confess unto him, &c. and desired the deponer to pray for him as a persone guiltie of the said grievous crymes: And farder declares, that after the Major was brought down out of the tolbuith, and the deponer being desired to retier with him to the little roun before the Toune's Councill hous, he did confess again, &c.; and the deponer having asked him if he had seen the deivell, [N.B.—This is the only hint respecting sorcery to be found in the deposition.] he answered, that any fealling he ever hade of him was in the dark; and this is treuth," &c.—*Criminal Record in the Register House of Edinburgh*.—Weir was condemned to be strangled at a stake, and then his body to be burnt to ashes—a sentence executed at the Galla-lee, where, however, it would seem, from a shameful circumstance recorded in Hicks's Ravailac Redivivus, that this miserable wretch was actually burnt alive. In the flames along with him was consumed his conjuring staff, carved with heads like those of satyrs, without which he could not pray, nor work many of his other diabolical feats. By its help, he once conveyed himself into the bed-chamber of a gentlewoman whom he loved, the door being locked, and at the dead of night; but her prayers and cries scared away the wizzard before the completion of his wicked purpose. For many years after his execution, his house in the Bow, the remains of which are still to be seen, was left un-

complying with prelacy) for which cause the king's counsell ap-

inhabited from a dread of diabolical molestation. It is now occupied as a brazier's shop.

When Jean Weir came to trial, the proof against her, as to witchcraft, was chiefly her own confession; for she declared, "That when she kept a school at Dalkeith, and teached childering, ane tall woman came to the declarant's hous when the childering were there; and that she had, as appeared to her, ane chyld upon her back, and on or two at her foot; and that the said woman desyred that the declarant should imploy her to spick for her to the Queen of Farie, and strik and battle in her behalf with the said Queen, (which was her own words); and that the next day ane little woman came to the declarant, and did give her a piece of a tree, or the root of some herb or tree, as she thought, and told her that als long as she had the samen, she wold be able to doe what she should desyre; and then the said woman did lay ane cloth upon the floor near the door, and caused the declarant set her foot upon the samen, and her hand upon the crown of her own head, and caused the declarant repeat these words thrice, viz. 'All my cross and trubles goe to the door with the;' which accordinglie she did; and that she gave the woman all the silver she hade, being some few turners, and some meall; and that after the said woman went away, the declarant did spin a verie short tyme, and that she did find more yearne upon her pirne, and good yearne, nor she thought could be spun in so short a tyme; which did so affright the declarant, that she did set bye her wheile, and did shut the door, and did stay within her house for the space of twentie dayes or thereby, and was exceedinglie trubled, and weeped becaus she thought what she had done in manner forsaid was in effect the renouncing of her baptisme; and being interrogate, if she knowes any thing if her brother had any correspondence with the deivell? declares that she hes been of a long tyme jealous of him that he hade, bot knows noe certaintie; bot sex or seven years since or thereby, she and her brother having went to visit David Livingstone, wheill-wright in Dalkeith, as they were in use to doe diverss tymes of befor, and her brother having desyred her to claw his back, she found upon his shoulder, as she thinks the right shoulder, a mark lyk that which they call the divell's mark; and that when she found it, she was affrighted."—*Criminal Record*. When she was told that her brother was burnt, and how he died, "she believed nothing of it," says Sinclair; "but after many attestations, she asked where his staff was? for it seems she knew that his strength and life lay therein. A minister told her, it was burnt with him; whereupon, notwith-

pointed some of their number, viz. seven of them, to come to Glasgow, the 18th of Aprile, to cognosce on all these affairs.

standing of her age, she nimbly, and in a furious rage, fell on her knees, uttering words horrible to be remembered ! and in rising up, as she was desired, her raging agony closed with these words—‘ O, sir ! I know he is with the devils ; for with them he lived ! ’ ” This does not agree with her confession in the Criminal Record, much less what follows, from the same authority.—“ She was interrogated, If she had any hand in her brother’s divelry ? she declared but in a passive way ; and gave this for an instance. A fiery chariot or coach, as she called it, coming to his door at broad-day, a stranger invited him and her to go visit a friend at Dalkeith,” (doubtless the wheelwright mentioned above ;) “ they both entered, and went forward to their visit ; at which time, says she, one came and whispered something in his ear, which affected him. They both returned after the same manner that they had gone out ; and Weir going after to make some visits, told them he had strong apprehensions that that day the King’s forces were routed at Worcester ; which, within a few days, was confirmed by post. She affirmed that none saw the coach but themselves. The devil hath wrought far greater farlies in his time than this. She knew much of the enchanted staff ; for by it he was enabled to pray—yea, even to reconcile neighbours, man and wife, when at variance. Being asked the cause of her much spinning, which she was famous for, she denied any assistance from the devil, but found she had an extraordinary faculty therein, far above ordinary spinsters ; yet owned, that when she came home, after her being abroad, she found there was more yarn on her wheel than she left ; and that her weaver could not make cloth thereof, the yarn breaking or falling from the loom.”

She told a clergyman, who attended her previous to her execution in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, that she was resolved to die with *all the shame she could*. Accordingly, when she appeared upon the scaffold, after addressing the spectators concerning her sins, her brother, his conjuring staff, and the Solemn League and Covenant, “ she cast away hir mantell, hir gown-tayle, and was purposed, as was sayde, to cast off all hir clothes before all the multitude ; bot Baylie Oliphant, to whom the businese was intrusted, stoped the same, and commanded the executioner to doe his office. But whille he was about to throw hir ovir the leather, she smote the executioner on the chieke ; and hir hands not being tyed when she was throwen over, she labored to recover hirsselfe, and put in hir head betwixt two of the steps of the leather, and keiped

But they found not things as they were represented. June, 1670, dyed the Duchess of Orleance, or king's syster in France.*

July, 1670, Mr Robert Lighton, Bishop of Dumblaine, is set over Glasgow diocese ; he comes to Glasgow, keeps a synod at Peebles,

that powster for a tyme, till she was put from itt."—*The Chronicle of Fife*, p. 272. This shocking story of the humble Major Weir and his sister seems to have furnished one of the first poets of the present day with the plot of that magnificent tragedy, *Manfred*.

* By poison, as it was supposed, the revenge of an injured husband. Such crimes, at that period, were frightfully common in Paris, and continued to disgrace the French capital for ten years afterwards, till the institution of la Chambre Ardente checked this abominable practice. The Marchioness of Brinvilliers, whose character forms, one would hope, a hideous solecism in human nature, poisoned her father and her two brothers ; the first with her own hands ; the other through the corruption of a menial—*l'amour*, says Voltaire, with all the characteristic tenderness of a French philosopher ; *l'amour* ! alone was the cause of these crimes, though it appears from the *Memoire du Procez*, that the Marchioness was anxious to inherit the riches of her family ; and one evening, after dinner, being indiscreet through wine, she took a little box of poison out of her pocket, and, shewing it to a female friend, said, "Voila dequoy se venger de ses ennemis, elle est pleine de successions." It was proved that she had frequently threatened to have her lover assassinated, because he retained a bond for a large sum of money which she had granted to him. After all, perhaps, the most notable wonder in the history of these wretches is, that the husband of the woman, and the wife of the man, survived them. La Voisin, who came upon the scaffold afterwards, and was one of the most distinguished monsters punished by la Chambre Ardente, appears to have been an impostor of some talent. She, together with two other females and a priest, set up the trade of a fortune-teller, spectre-raiser, and composer of philtres, otherwise poisons, intermingled with the more physical occupations of a procuress and murderess of unborn-children. This was in Paris, where her genius in all these branches found full scope. Ladies and gentlemen of the highest quality flocked to her in great numbers, some through idle curiosity, but most from the very worst motives. Her more distinguished patronesses were two nieces of Cardinal Mazarin, the Duchess of Bouillon, and the Countess of Soissons, mother of Prince Eugene. These ladies, from their Italian extract, may be supposed to have inherited a turn for poison ; and though

and another at Glasgow, the said month, under the name of Commendator, or he to whom the affairs of that synod or diocese was intrusted, *a comenda*, a trustie.

Madame de Bouillon escaped with impunity, the Countess of Soissons was obliged to fly from Paris in the night, and was received wherever she sought refuge with the utmost indignity. At Brussels, the mob tied a number of cats together and set them a screaming after her in the streets, shouting out that these were the devils and witches of the Sabbath, her compeers; on which she precipitately left the town. Meanwhile, La Voisin herself was burnt in a slow fire at the Grève. Madame de Sevigne, whose powers of epistolary narration have never been rivalled, gives this striking account of the modern Canidia's behaviour during the last days of her life:—"Je ne vous parlerai que de la Voisin: ce ne fut point mercredi, comme je vous l'avois mandé, qu'elle fut brûlée, ce ne fut qu'hier. Elle savoit son arrêt dès lundi, chose fort extraordinaire. Le soir elle dit à ses gardes: Quoi, nous ne ferons point *médianoche*! Elle mangea avec eux à minuit par fantaisie; car il n'étoit point jour maigre; elle but beaucoup de vin, elle chanta vingt chansons à boire. Le mardi elle eut la question ordinaire, extraordinaire: elle avoit dîné, et dormit huit heures; elle fut confrontée sur le matelas à Mesdames de Dreux et le Feron, et à plusieurs autres: on ne parle point encore de ce qu'elle a dit; on croit toujours qu'on verra des choses étranges. Elle soupa le soir, et recommença, toute brisée qu'elle étoit, à faire la débauche avec scandale: on lui en fit honte, et on lui dit qu'elle feroit bien mieux de penser à Dieu, et de chanter un *Ave Maris Stella*, ou un *salve*, que toutes ces chansons: elle chanta l'un et l'autre en ridicule, elle dormit ensuite. Le mercredi se passa de même en confrontations, et débauches, et chansons: elle ne voulut point voir de confesseur. Enfin le jeudi, qui étoit hier, on ne voulut lui donner qu'un bouillon: elle en gronda, craignant de n'avoir pas la force de parler à ces messieurs. Elle vint en carrosse de Vincennes à Paris; elle étouffa un peu, et fut embarrassée; on voulut la faire confesser, point de nouvelles. A cinq heures on la lia; et avec une torche à la main, elle parut dans le tombereau habillée de blanc; c'est une sorte d'habit pour être brûlée; elle étoit fort rouge, et l'on voyoit qu'elle repoussoit le confesseur et le crucifix avec violence. Nous la vîmes passer à l'hotel de Sully, Madame de Chaulnes, Madame de Sully, la Comtesse, et bien d'autres. A Notre-Dame, elle ne vouloit jamais prononcer l'amende-honorable, et à la Grève elle se défendit autant qu'elle put de sortir du tombereau: on l'en tira de force; on la mit sur la bûcher assise et liée avec du fer, on la

July 28, 1670, the parliament of Scotland sits down again, Lord Lauderdale being commissioner. Commissioners are nominat for to meet with the commissioners of England, to treat of the union of the two kingdoms, and articles thereof. Twenty-five in wholl are appointed to goe to London, after the close of the parliament; seven earles, Marshall, Athole, Rothes, Louthean, Laderdale, Tuedall, Kincarden; three bishops, Sharp of St Andrews, Lighton, Comendator of Glasgow, Hamilton of Galloway; and four Lords of the Session, Sir Archibald Primrose, Sir James Dalrymple of Stairs, Sir John Baird of Newbyth, Charles Metlan of Hatoun; together with Sir Andrew Ramsay, provost of Edinburgh; Sir Patrick Murray; and the Laird of Blackbarronie; Sir Robert Murray; Sir Robert Sinclair, Advocat; Sir William Bruce, Clerk to the Bills; Sir Andrew Prestoune, Doctor of Medicine; Mr Arskin, and others, who were to meet at Westminster, the 14th of September, 1670.

In this parliament there was an act made for the oath of discoverie, that any man might be put to answer questions upon his oath, which they put to him, for the discoverie of treason, combination, conventicles, and the lyke.

When the commissioners did meet about the union of the two kingdoms, they could not agree in the articles, wherefore the king thought fitt not to pursue it farther. The lyke was before in King James the Sixth's tyme done. Neither at this time the Englishes nor the Scots generally were pleased with the overture of the Union. My Lord Rothes, Sir John Nisbit, the king's advocat, and Sir James Dalrymple, (who at this time was made Lord President of the Session in Scotland,) did behave themselves well in that affair.

couvert de paille; elle jura beaucoup, elle repoussa la paille cinq ou six fois; mais enfin le feu s'augmenta, et on la perdit de vue, et ses cendres sont en l'air présentement. Voilà la mort de Madame Voisin, célèbre par ses crimes et par son impiété."

September, 1670. In regard that these conformists planted in the west, in place of the presbyterian ministers, who were put out, did no way satisfie the people, the king's counsell thought on this as a good help to send severalls, to the number of six or seven, of the most sober conformists to the west, that were in the east, to preach up and down the west for some time, to see if the scandalous being removed, they could bring that people unto a conformitie with the more sober conformists, among whom were, Mr Gilbert Burnet, then professor of divinity in the Colledge of Glasgow ; Mr Nairne, and others ; but all to no effect, (because that people were not so much against the persons as against the office of bishops,) and notwithstanding that Mr Burnet gave large moneys to the poor to come and hear his preachings, yet they all soon relinquished him ; even those who came at first to hear him came out of curiosity, but afterward deserted him.

In September and October, 1670, there being a considerable number of the presbyterian perswasion licentiat to preach throughout the west of Scotland the last year ; and my Lord Lauderdale, his majesty's commissioner, together with Bishop Lighton, the Commendator of Glasgow, this yeir having had conference with some of the presbyterian perswasion, viz. with Mr Hutcheson, Wedderburn, Addair, Baird, and others, to this purpose, that they would embrace an accommodation with those of the prelatick party, the result of which conference betwixt my Lord Lauderdale and the Commendator of Glasgow, with some others of the prelatick party, with those of the indulged brethren, amounted to this, that presbyterie being set up by law, as they were established before, (anno 1638,) and the bishop passing from his negative vote, and we having libertie to declare and protest against any remainder of prelatick power retained, or that may be retained, or happen at any

tyme to be exercised by him for a salvo of our consciences from homologation thereof.

Queritur, Whether we can, with safety to our consciences and principles, joine with these presbyteries? Or what elss is it that we could desire, or will doe for an accommodation, and the peace of the church, episcopacy being always preserved? This overture of accommodation was peaceably heard by our brethren at that meeting, only an answer thereunto was differred until such tyme as they understood the mind of their brethren of their persuasion. Whereupon liberty was granted to our brethren of the presbyterian persuasion, to meet when and where, and how often they pleased, to consult therein, and to give their answers against the 1st of November next, which accordingly was done; meetings were kept in severall parts of the west, as at Pasley, Urvine, Air, and the last at Kilmarnock; and accordingly this answer was returned,—That they were not clear in their consciences to accommodat with the bishop, or to accept of the proposals made. This answer was not given in writt, for several reasons, but in word, by Mr Hutcheson, Mr Wedderburn, Mr Maitland, Mr Millar, which did dissatisfie some brethren that it was not in wryte, with the reasons thereof.

On this followes a confynement of all the indulged ministers within their own parishes, and a sequestration from their stipends.

October 29, 1670, there was a suddane thunderclap by seven of the morning, that fell out at Glasgow, and lighted on the Blackfrier Kirk, the like whereof was not heard of in these parts; it rent the steeple of the said church fra top to bottom, and tirmed the sclattes off it, and brake down the gavills in the two ends of it, and fyred it, but was quenched afterward by men.

October, 1670, There was a divill that troubled a house in Kerpoch, within a mile of Glasgow, for the matter of eight days tyme, (but disappeared again) in casting pits, and dropping stones from the

roof, yet not hurting any, lyke that which appeared in the west, in a weaver's house, a good man, about 14 yeirs agoe, which did the lyke, and spoke to them audibly.*

* The diabolical obsession alluded to (in which, by the way, it appears, from Glanvil, that Bishop Burnet implicitly believed), is related at great length by Mr George Sinclair, Professor of Philosophy in the College of Glasgow, in his *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*. It constitutes the eleventh article of the volume, and is entitled, "*The Devil of Glenluce, enlarged with several remarkable additions from an eye and ear witness, a person of undoubted authority.*"

"The subject-matter of this story is a true and short account of the troubles where-with the family of one Gilbert Campbell, by profession a weaver, in the old parish of Glenluce in Galloway, was exercised.—'It happened,' says my informer, Gilbert Campbell's son, who was then a student of philosophy in the college of Glasgow, that after one Alexander Agnew, a bold and sturdy beggar, who afterwards was hanged at Dumfries for blasphemy, had threatened hurt to the family, because he had not gotten such an alms as he required, the said Gilbert Campbell was often hindered in the exercise of his calling, and yet could not know by what means this was done. This Agnew, amongst many blasphemous expressions, had this one when he was interrogate by the judges, Whether or not he thought there was a God? He answered, 'He knew no God but salt, meal, and water.' When the stirs began, there was a whistling heard both within and without the house. And Janet Campbell going one day to the well, to bring home some water, was conveyed with a shrill whistling about her ears, which made her say, 'I would fain hear thee speak as well as whistle.' Hereupon he said, after a threatening manner, 'I'll cast thee, Janet, into the well.' The voice was most exactly like the damsel's voice, and did resemble it to the life. The gentlewoman that heard this, and was a witness, thought the voice was very near to her own ears, and said, 'The whistling was such as children use to make with their small slender glass whistles.'—About the middle of November, the foul fiend came on with new and extraordinary assaults, by throwing of stones in at the doors and windows, and down the chimney-head, which were of great quantity, and thrown with force; yet, by God's providence, there was not one person in the family that was hurt. This did necessitate Gilbert Campbell to reveal that to the minister of the parish, and to other neighbours and friends, which hitherto he had suffered secretly. Notwithstanding of this, his trouble was enlarged; for not long after, he found

November 11th 1670, was Colline Campbell, a rich merchant in Glasgow, and many tymes provost there, a vertuous and frugall

oftentimes his warp and threads cut, as with a pair of scissars; and not only so, but their apparel were cut after the same manner, even while they were wearing them, their coats, bonnets, hose, shoes, but could not discern how, or by what means; only it pleased God to preserve their persons, that the least harm was not done. Yet, in the night-time, they had not liberty to sleep, something coming and pulling their bed-clothes and linens off them, and leaving their bodies naked. Next, their chests and trunks were opened, and all things in them strawed here and there. Likewise the parts of their working instruments which had escaped, were carried away, and hid in holes and bores of the house, where hardly any could be found again. Nay, whatever piece of cloth or household stuff was in any part of the house, it was carried away, and so cut and abused, that the good man was necessitate, in all haste and speed, to remove, and transport the rest to a neighbour's house, and he himself compelled to quit the exercise of his calling, whereby he only maintained his family. Yet he resolved to remain in his house for a season; during which time, some persons about, not very judicious, counselled him to send his children out of the family, here and there, to try whom the trouble did most follow; assuring him, that this trouble was not against the whole family, but against some one person or other in it, whom he too willingly obeyed. Yet, for the space of four or five days, there were no remarkable assaults as before. The minister hearing thereof, shewed him the evil of such a course; and assured him, that, if he repented not, and called back his children, he might not expect that his trouble would end in a right way. The children that were nigh by being brought home, no trouble followed, till one of his sons called Thomas, that was farrest off, came home. Then did the devil begin afresh; for upon the Lord's day following, in the afternoon, the house was set on fire; but by the help of some neighbours going home from sermon, the fire was put out, and the house saved, not much loss being done. And Monday after being spent in private prayer and fasting, the house was again set on fire upon the Tuesday, about nine o'clock in the morning; yet, by the speedy help of the neighbours, it was saved, little skaith being done.—The weaver, being thus vexed and wearied both day and night, went to the minister of the parish, an honest and godly man, desiring him to let his son Thomas abide with him for a time, who condescended, but withal assuring him, that he would find himself deceived; and so it came to pass, for, notwithstanding that the lad was without the family, yet were they that remained in it sore troubled both in the day-time and night-season, so that they were forced

man, and trustie in his word, and come to many yeirs at this tyme, smitten in the road with death, near to his own house in Ranfield,

to walk till midnight, and sometimes all the night over, during which time the persons within the family suffered many losses ; as the cutting of their clothes ; throwing of peats ; the pulling down of turf and feal from the roof and walls of the house ; stealing of their clothes ; and the pricking of their flesh and skin with pins.—Some ministers about having convened at the place for a solemn humiliation, persuaded Gilbert Campbell to call back his son Thomas, notwithstanding of whatever hazard might follow. The boy returning home, affirmed, that he heard a voice speak to him, forbidding him to enter within the house, or in any other place where his father's calling was exercised ; yet he entered, but was sore abused, till he was forced to return to the minister's house again.—Upon Monday the 12th of February, the rest of the family began to hear a voice speak to them, but could not well know from whence it came ; yet, from evening till midnight, too much vain discourse was kept up with Satan, and many idle and impertinent questions proposed, without that due fear of God that should have been upon their spirits, under so rare and extraordinary a trial. They came at length in familiar discourse with the foul thief, that they were no more afraid to keep up the clash with him, than to speak to one another ; in this they pleased him well, for he desired no better than to have sacrifices offered to him. The minister hearing of this, went to the house upon the Tuesday, being accompanied with some gentlemen ; one James Bailie of Carphin, Alexander Bailie of Dunragged, Mr Robert Hay, and a gentlewoman called Mrs Douglas, whom the minister's wife did accompany. At their first coming in, the devil says, '*Quam Literarum* is good Latin ;' these are the first words of the Latin Rudiments, which scholars are taught when they go to the grammar-school. He cries again, 'A dog.' The minister thinking he had spoken it to him, said 'He took it not ill to be reviled by Satan, since his master had trodden that path before him.' Answered Satan, 'It was not you, sir, I spoke to ; I meant the dog there ;' for there was a dog standing behind backs. This passing they all went to prayer ; which being ended, they heard a voice speaking out of the ground from under the bed, in the proper country dialect, which he did counterfeit exactly, saying, 'Would you know the witches of Glenluce ? I will tell you them ;' and so related four or five persons names that went under a bad report ; the weaver informed the company that one of them was dead long ago. The devil answered, and said, 'It is true she is dead long ago, but her spirit is living with us in the world.' The minister replied, saying, (though it was not convenient to speak to such an ex-

which gives a lesson to all to prepare for death, which all the riches in the world cannot deliver from.

communicated and intercommuned person,) 'The Lord rebuke thee, Satan, and put thee to silence; we are not to receive information from thee whatsoever fame any person goes under; thou art seeking but to seduce this family, for Satan's kingdom is not divided against itself.' After which, all went to prayer again, which being ended, for during the time of prayer no noise or trouble was made, except once that a loud fearfull yell was heard at a distance, the devil threatening and terrifying the lad Tom, who had come back that day with the minister, 'That if he did not depart out of the house, he would set all on fire.' Says the minister, 'The Lord will preserve the house and the lad too, seeing he is one of the family, and had God's warrant to tarry in it.' The fiend answered, 'He shall not get liberty to tarry; he was once put out already, and shall not abide here, though I should pursue him to the end of the world.' The minister replied, 'The Lord will stop thy malice against him.' And then they all went to prayer again; which being ended, the devil said, 'Give me a spade and a shovel, and depart from the house for seven days, and I will make a grave, and lie down in it, and shall trouble you no more.' The goodman answered, 'Not so much as a straw shall be given thee, through God's assistance, even though that would do it.' The minister also added, 'God shall remove thee in due time.' The spirit answered, 'I will not remove for you; I have my commission from Christ to tarry and vex this family.' The minister answered, 'A permission thou hast, indeed, but God will stop it in due time.' The devil replied, 'I have, sir, a commission which perhaps will last longer than your own.' The minister died in the year 1655, in December. The devil had told them, 'That he had given his commission to Tom to keep.' The company enquired at the lad, who said, 'There was something put into his pocket, but it did not tarry.'

"After this, the minister and the gentlemen arose and went to the place whence the voice seemed to come, to try if they could see or find any thing. After diligent search, nothing being found, the gentlemen began to say, 'We think this voice speaks out of the children,' for some of them were in their beds. The spirit answered, 'You lie; God shall judge you for your lying, and I and my father will come and fetch you to hell with warlock thieves;' and so the devil discharged the gentlemen to speak any thing, saying, 'Let him speak that hath a commission,' (meaning the minister) 'for he is the servant of God.' The gentlemen returning back with the minister, sat down near the place whence the voice seemed to come; and he, opening his mouth, spake

Apryl 1671, did the French King, with 80,000 men, come to Dunkirk, which did a little affright this Illeand. He had fortified

to them after this manner :—‘ The Lord will rebuke this spirit in his own time, and cast him out.’ The devil, answering, said, ‘ It is written in Mark, chap. ix., that the disciples could not cast him out.’ The minister replied, ‘ What the disciples could not do, yet the Lord having heightened the parent’s faith, for his own glory, did cast him out, and so shall he thee.’ The devil replied, ‘ It is written in Luke, chap. iv., that he departed and left him for a season.’ The minister said, ‘ The Lord, in the days of his humiliation, not only got the victory over Satan in that assault in the wilderness, but when he came again, his success was no better ; for it is written, John, xiv., Behold, the prince of this world cometh and hath nothing in me, and being now in glory, he will fulfill his promise, and God shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly.’ Rom. xvi. The devil answered, ‘ It is written, Matth. xxv. There were ten virgins, five wise, and five foolish ; and when the bridegroom came, the foolish virgins had no oil in their lamps, and went to the wise to seek oil ; and the wise said, go and buy for yourselves ; and while they went, the bridegroom came, and entered in, and the door was shut, and the foolish virgins were sent to hell’s fire.’ The minister answered, ‘ The Lord knows the sincerity of his servants, and though there be sin and folly in us here, yet there is a fountain opened to the house of David for sin and uncleanness ; when he hath washed us from our sins for his name’s sake, he will cast the unclean spirit out of the land.’ The devil answered, and said, ‘ Sir, you should have cited for that place of scripture, Zech. xiii.,’ and so he began at the first verse, and repeated several verses, and concluded with these words : ‘ In that day I will cause the prophet and unclean spirit pass out of the land ;’ but afterwards it is written, ‘ I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.’ The minister answered, and said, ‘ We know that our blessed Shepherd was smitten, and thereby hath bruised thy head. And, albeit, in the hour of his sufferings, his disciples forsook him,’ Matth. xxvi. ‘ Yet now having ascended on high, he sits in glory, and is preserving, gathering in, and turning his hand upon his little ones, and will save his poor ones in this family from thy malice.’ The minister returning back a little, and standing upon the floor, the devil said, ‘ I knew not these scriptures till my father taught me them.’ Then the minister conjured him to tell whence he was. The foul fiend replied, ‘ That he was an evil spirit come from the bottomless pit of hell to vex this house, and that Satan was his father.’ And presently there appeared a naked hand, and an arm from the elbow down, beating upon the floor till the house did shake again, and also he uttered

Dunkirk more strongly than before.—May 1671, was there an attempt made upon the crown of England by five or six men, think-

a most fearful and loud cry, saying, 'Come up, my father; come up. I will send my father among you; see, there he is behind your backs.' Then the minister said, 'I saw indeed a hand and an arm, when the stroke was given and heard.' The devil said to him, 'Saw you that? It was not my hand, it was my father's; my hand is more black in the loof.' 'O,' said Gilbert Campbell, 'that I may see thee as well as I hear thee!' 'Would you see me,' says the foul thief; 'put out the candle, and I shall come butt the house among you like fire-balls. I shall let you see me, indeed.' Alexander Bailie of Dunragged says to the minister, 'Let us go ben, and see if there be any hand to be seen.' The devil answered, 'No, let him come then alone; he is a good honest man, his single word may be believed.' About this time the devil abused Mr Robert Hay, a very honest gentleman, very ill with his tongue, calling him witch and warlock. A little after, the devil cries, (it seems out of purpose and in of purpose) 'A witch, a witch; there is a witch sitting upon the ruist, take her away;' he meant a hen sitting upon the balk of the house. These things being past, all went to prayer, during which time he was silent; prayer being ended, the devil answered, and said, 'If the goodman's son's prayers at the College of Glasgow did not prevail with God, my father and I had wrought a mischief here ere now.' To which Alexander Bailie of Dunragged replied, 'Well, well, I see you confess there is a God, and that prayer prevails with him; and therefore we must pray to God, and commit the event to him.' To whom the devil replied, 'Yea, sir, you speak of prayer with your broad lipped hat,' (for the gentleman had lately gotten a hat in the fashion with broad lips) 'I'll bring a pair of shears from my father which will clip the lips of it a little.' Whereupon he presently imagined that he heard and felt a pair of shears going round about his hat, which caused him lift it to see if the foul thief had meddled with it.

"During this time, several things, but of less moment, passed; as that he would have Tom a merchant, Rob a smith, John a minister, and Hugh a lawyer; all which, in some measure, came to pass. As to Janet, the goodman's daughter, he cries to her, 'Janet Campbell, Janet Campbell, wilt thou cast me thy belt?' Quoth she, 'What a widdy wilt thou do with my belt?'—'I would fain (says he) fasten my loose bones close together with it.' A younger daughter, sitting busking her poppies, as young girls use to do, being threatened by the fiend, that he would ding out her harns, that is, brain her, she answered, without being concerned; 'No, if God be to the fore;' and so fell to the work again. The goodwife of the house having brought out some

ing to carry it with them ; they desired the keeper that they might see the honors, and after they had seen them, they laboured to carry

bread, was breaking it to give every one of the company a piece ; he cries, ‘ Grisel Wyllie, Grisel Wyllie, give me a piece of that hard bread, (for so they call their oat-cakes,) I have gotten nothing this day but a bite from Marrit ;’ that is, as they speak in that country, Margaret. The minister said, ‘ Beware of that ; for it is a sacrificing to the devil !’ The girl was called for, and asked if she gave him any hard bread ? ‘ No, says she ; but when I was eating my due piece this morning, something came and clicked it out of my hand.’

“ The evening being now far spent, it was thought fit that every one should withdraw to his own home. Then did the devil cry out fearfully—‘ Let not the minister go home ; I shall burn the house, if he go ;’ and many other ways did he threaten. After the minister had gone forth, Gilbert Campbell was very instant with him to tarry, whereupon he returned, all the rest going home. When he came into the house, the devil gave a great gaff of laughter. ‘ You have now, sir, done my bidding.’ ‘ Not thine,’ answered the other, ‘ but in obedience to God have I returned, to bear this man company whom thou dost afflict.’ Then did the minister call upon God. And when the prayer was ended, he discharged the weaver, and all the persons of the family, to speak a word to the devil ; and when he spake, that they should only kneel down and pray to God. The devil then roared out mightily, and cried out, ‘ What, will ye not speak to me ? I shall strike the bairns, and do all manner of mischief.’ But after that time no answer was made to him ; and so for a long time no speech was heard. Several times had he beat the children in their beds, and the claps of his loof upon their buttocks would have been heard, but without any trouble to them. While the minister and gentlemen were standing at the door, ready to go home, the minister’s wife and the goodwife were within ; then cried Satan—‘ Grisel, put out the candle.’ Says she to the minister’s wife, ‘ Shall I do it ?’ ‘ No ; (says the other,) for then you shall obey the devil.’ Upon this he cries again with a louder shout, ‘ Put out the candle.’ The candle still burns. The third time he cries, ‘ Put out the candle ;’ and no obedience being given to him, he did so often reiterate these words, and magnify his voice, that it was astonishing to hear him, which made them stop their ears, they thinking the sound was just at their ears. At last the candle was put out. ‘ Now (says he) I’ll trouble you no more this night.’

“ I must here insert what I heard from one of the ministers of that presbytery, who, with the rest, were appointed to meet at the weaver’s house for prayer, and other

the crown with them. It seems, it was but a covetous design, for it is valued to 40 thousand lb. Sterling. Fifteen days before this

exercises of that kind. When the day came, five only met ; but, before they went in, they stood a while in the croft, which lies round about the house, consulting what to do. They resolved upon two things ; first, There should be no words of conjuration used, as commanding him in the name of God to tell whence he was, or to depart from the family, for which they thought they had no call from God. Secondly, That when the devil spoke, none should answer him, but hold on in their worshipping of God, and the duties they were called to. When all of them had prayed by turns, and three of them had spoken a word or two from the Scripture, they prayed again, and then ended without any disturbance. When that brother who informed me had gone out, one Hugh Nisbet, one of the company, came running after him, desiring him to come back, for he had begun to whistle. ‘ No, (says the other,) I tarried as long as God called me ; but go in again I will not.’ After this, the said Gilbert suffered much loss, and had many sad nights, not two nights in one week free ; and thus it continued till April. From April to July, he had some respite and ease ; but after he was molested with new assaults. Even their victuals were so abused, that the family was in hazard of starving : and that which they ate, gave them not their ordinary satisfaction they were wont to find.

“ In this sore and sad affliction, Gilbert Campbell resolved to make his address to the Synod of Presbyters, for advice and counsel what to do, which was appointed to convene in October 1655, namely, Whether to forsake the house or not ? The Synod, by their committee, appointed to meet at Glenluce in February 1656, thought it fit that a solemn humiliation should be kept through all the bounds of the Synod ; and, amongst other causes, to request God in behalf of that afflicted family ; which being done carefully, the event was, that his trouble grew less till April, and from April to August he was altogether free. About which time the devil began with new assaults ; and taking the ready meat which was in the house, did sometimes hide it in holes by the door-posts, and at other times hid it under the beds, and sometimes among the bed-clothes, and under the linens, and at last did carry it quite away, till nothing was left there save bread and water. This minds me of a small passage as a proof of what is said. The goodwife one morning making pottage for the childrens’ breakfast, had the tree-plate, wherein the meal lay, snatched from her quickly. ‘ Well (says she) let me have my plate again.’ Whereupon it came flying at her, without any skaith done. It is like, if she had sought the meal too, she might have got it ; such is his

attempt was made, a seaman, living in the south-west of Scotland, surnamed Scott, should have declared to some of the nobility and gentry there, that the crown of England should be taken before the 15th day of this instant month of May.*

In and about this tyme, poperie increased in England, Scotland, and Ireland, exceedingly ; great numbers of the gentrie of Ingland turn popish out of desygn. A popish colledge sett up in Ireland at Dundalk, and a popish primat in it, who went through a great part of the kingdom consecrating priests ; notwithstanding all the acts made against them, yet such is their boldness.

In the same yeir also, 1671, did Quakerism abound, and the persons professing the same exceedingly increased, especially in England, to many thousands ; and becaus they rejected the ordinances, and the holy scriptures, they found, were not taking with the people ; now they have preaching and prayer in their meetings and

civility when he is entreated, a small homage will please him, ere he want all. After this he exercised his malice and cruelty against all persons in the family, in wearying them in the night-time, by stirring and moving through the house ; so that they had no rest for noise, which continued all the month of August after this manner. After which time, the devil grew yet worse, by roaring and terrifying them ; by casting of stones ; by striking them with staves on their bed in the night-time. And (September 18,) about midnight, he cried out with a loud voice, ‘ I shall burn the house.’ And about three or four nights after, he set one of the beds on fire, which was soon put out, without any prejudice except the bed itself.—Thus I have written a short and true account of all the material passages which occurred. To write every particular, especially of lesser moment, would fill a large volume. The goodman lived several years after this in the same house ; and it seems, by some conjuration or other, the devil suffered himself to be put away, and gave the weaver a peaceable habitation. This weaver has been a very old man, that endured so long these marvellous disturbances.”

* A full account of Blood, and his attempt upon the crown, is to be found in Echard's Hist. and in the Life of Richard Baxter, p. 88, part III.

families, and acknowledge the scriptures as the rule of their walk, and judge of controversies. Some of them are thus far returned, which is more insnaring; and now some of note, and of parts and learning (such as Mr Barklay Keith and others) turn that way.

At the same tyme also did all manner of profanity and abomination increase among us; such as adultery, very common in thir days; and fornication, not lookt on as a sin with many; drunkenness without any shame, but men glorying in that shame; dreadfull oppression; high contempt of the gospell;—gross idolatrie; a woman drinking the devil's health and his servants in the south. Strange kynds of defylement; a man in Killmarnock, who of a long tyme had been professing godliness, found with a girle of nine yeirs of age, and continued in that filthiness till she was fifteen years, who being brought under a conviction of her sin at sermon, (the minister Mr Wedderburn being preaching against whoore-mungers and adulterers), she told it to her mother, and afterwards was brought to light, and he confessing it; besides self-murder that fell out among us, one whereof in that same town hapned lately; and witchcraft and sorceries very common; all which threatens a sad stroak from the hand of God upon us.

In this yeir, 1671, also was that act of parliament put in execution against the merchants, that they should give their oath for the goods they export or import, before they get their transire, which did exceedingly straiten the merchants. That which occasioned this sharpness in dealing with the merchants, is the vast summs that are offered by these who ferm the king's customs, that both they might make up the rate that they offered for them, and their own great advantage.

Att the same tyme did the company, called the Royal Company, which was a company of some of the nobility, and others joined

with them, did monopolize some treading only to themselves, such as that of salt and fish, &c. ; so that no others might import or export salt or fish for certain months of the yeir, but they only of that company ; which did impoverish many families, which traded that way in Scotland. This did occasion great grumbling amongst the people.

May 1671, about the middle of this month, was the magazine-house of Dubline Castle burnt, with 20,000 stand of armes. It was feared by some that it was a plott of the papists.—June 1671, was there a plott by the Irish papists in Ireland, to cut off English and Scotts on Midsummer-day, discovered, and through God's providence prevented.

July 7, 1671, did the great bridge of Glasgow fall in the great south bow of it ; which was occasioned through a settling it took in that end, by the water undermynding the ground the last harvest, and was rebuildd again immediately thereafter by the citie of Glasgow ; William Anderson being then provost.

September 1671, there were great winds all allongs the Illand of Britane, and the coasts of it, that to the number of 80 ships, lesser and greater, were cast away by sea at that tyme.—From September 1671 to Aprile 1672, there was a great mortalitie of young ones in Glasgow by the small pox ; so that in that tyme there was cutt off to the number of 800 and upwards ; hardly a familie in all the city but was infected, and rare it was to find a family wherein some was not taken away by death.

In March 1672, the king makes warr with the Estates of Holland ; the causes of it he published to his subjects, as namely, 1. The breach of some articles agreed on, particularly in the matter of Smyrna, in detaining his subjects there, after it was surrendered to them ; 2. Their disgracing him in all their towns with abusive pic-

tures, and false historicall medalls and pillars ; 3. The safety of the trade, upon which the wealth and prosperitie of the people depends ; 4. The right of the flag was denyed, contrar to their ingadgments ; 5. Their refusing to give satisfaction to any of these, when demanded by the king's commissioner.

On this there was a great dispute betwixt the English and the Smyrna fleet of the Dutch, wherein the Englishes had the worse.

The same month of March, the King issues forth a declaration, of date 15th of March 1672, wherein he declares, that after twelve years sad experience, finding his coercive pouer did not availe as to making a conformity with prelacy, he takes of all penal laws against all sort of non-conformists, papists, as well as others ; and promises from tyme to tyme, to appoint to all non-conformists (papists excepted) publick places for preaching, and to authorize the teachers, by virtue of his supream pouer over ecclesiasticall affairs ; and as for papists, allows them their worship only in their own houses, and straitly forbids all conventicles, threatening all imaginary severitie against such. This declaration was for England. In it was also an invitation to all strangers to live in England. Both these acts were done only with the King and his Councell.

March 27, 1672, the Parliament of Scotland was adjourned be open proclamation at Edinburgh to the 29th of May, the King's birth and Restoration day.

The same month of March, 1672, there was a declaration issued out for Ireland, calling home all the natives, Irishes, of the Roman Catholic faith, commanding all mayors and baylies of cities and incorporations in Ireland, not only to sett them houses, but also to sell and wadsett them upon their desires ; and allows them indulgence for their religion, taking off all penall laws against them, and ordaining them only to take the oath of alleadgance, without

imposing the oath of supremacy on them. This was done by the King and his Councill in Ireland.

April 12, 1672, fourtie saill of ships were sent from the French King, to joyn with the English fleet against the Hollanders under the Duke of York, the King's brother, generall of the fleet.

Apryle 1672, there was a ship lying at Newcastle, bound for London, called the Good Hope of London, wherein the divill appeared in bodily shape, in the habit of a seaman, with a blew gravatt about his neck, and desired the master of the ship to remove out of her, which he did not obey, till sic time as she began to sink in the ocean. Then he, with his company, took his cog-boat, who were saved by another ship coming by, and that ship fyred and sank. This was testified by the oaths of them that were in her. They could never get the ruther stir'd, nor the use of the pump, an ominous presage.

The 3d May, 1672, the English fleet sets to sea against the Dutch, being joyned with the French, and the Duke of York was Generall of the English fleet, which consisted of two squadrons, the red and the blew. There were other ships not ordered into squadrons, and fyre-ships and ketches, and hospital-ships. Of the ships not ordered in squadrons, were 20; of fire-ships, were 16; of hospital-ships, 20; of ketches or tenders, 24: In sum, all amounted to 116 ships.

Of men, 23530 men.

Of guns, 4092 guns.

The French fleet that joined with the English, being the Whyte Squadron, were, of great ships, 30

Of light ships, were 06

Of fire-ships, were 03

Of flutes, were 04

The number of the Frenches that joyned the English in this expedition against the Dutch, were 10966 men.
Of the gunns, were 1926 guns.

Our Parliament of Scotland is again adjourned till the 12th day of June next; and Lord Lauderdale, now made Duke of Lauderdale, is to come down from London, as Commissioner, with his new lady, the Lady Dysert.

May 29, 1672, the fleets of Holland, and England and France, joyne battell, and continues for two dayes. The English and French fleet being out seeking the Dutch, who were lying then on their own coasts. The Dutch comes not out, of purpose to wearie them; and the English and French fleet being turned scarce of fresh water, resolve to come to the English shoar to get water. The Blew squad comes to one bay with the Earl of Sandwich; the Red and White should go to another with the Duke of York, nine myles distant. De Ruter, Generall of the Dutch, suspecting that many of them would land, and go ashore, immediately follows. A French frigate coming alongs sees them, and makes all the sail she could to give the English advertisement, but presently stands and shoots some shott, which the Blew squad hearing, makes ready, and discovering the Dutch fleet, cutts the cables, and makes out to them. The Dutch fleet surrounds this squad, and does a terrible execution; kills the Earl of Sandwich, who commanded, a brave sea captain, and many more. The report of the guns gives advertisement to the Duke of York, who presently comes up with his Red squad, and the French Whyt squad, and then there is a full engadgment of both fleets, couragiously and manfully fought on both sydes; and the fight turned so hot, that the duke was necessitat to shift for himself. There was at this tyme killed to the English toward 600 gallant gentlemen and commanders, and of

common soldiers some report to the number of 10,000. The Dutches goe home, and has days of thanksgiving, and bonfyres sett on for their victory.

The French King in his land forces against Holland, advances far, takes in Whesel and Utrick, goes near to Amsterdam with 50,000 men, and the Hollanders with their land forces are brought to very sad thoughts of their own condition ; the emperor, kings, and all the princes about having refused them aid, upon the earnest solicitation of the king of France, who now intends to be their master. The States of Holland sent over commissioner to our king of Britain to treat for peace, and calls in all their ships of war, and takes their men out of them to defend their land.

Our parliament of Scotland sits down on June 12, 1672, where Duke Lauderdale is commissioner, gives his speech to the parliament, shewing them the just grievances and complaints our king had against the States of Holland for other causes, so for that the intertaining of his rebels amongst them, and it is adjourned to Tuesday next.

Lauderdale's lady, with the number of thirty or forty moe ladies, accompanies the duke to the parliament in cotches, and are set down in the Parliament-house, and sat there the first session to hear (as is said) the commissioner's speech. Severall acts are made. The Duke of Lauderdale, with the king's councell, makes an act of confynement of ninety outed ministers, within the shyres of Clidsdale, Galloway, Barrounthrow, Aire, Argile, appoynting the parishes to goe to, and permitting them to preach therein. The Act of Councell was thus as followes :

Halyrudhous, the 3d of September, 1672.

THE Lord Commissioner his Grace, and Lords of his Majesty's Privie Councell, considering the disorders which have lately been

by the frequent and numerous conventicles, and being willing to remeedy so great an evil in the gentlest manner can be thought on; and his majesty's commissioner being sufficiently instructed herein, doe hereby order and appoint _____ to repair to the parish of _____, and to remain therein confyned, permitting and allowing him to preach the Gospel, and exercise the other parts of the ministeriall function in the said parish, with _____ formerly licensed.

Extracted by me,

THOMAS HAY.

The scope of this act was to keep ministers from conventicles, which were frequently kept both in country and cities, which did gall the bishops and curats. There were two appointed in each parish, and in some parishes three.

The parliament of Scotland is adjourned till June next 1673. The parliament of England, which should have mett this October, is adjourned to February, 1673. The reason of its adjournment was the hopes of peace with Holland, so that there was no reason to meet.

August 1672. De Witt and his brother, two of Holland's great governours, were by the multitude torn in pieces, alledging they had a hand in bringing in the Frenches upon them, and being opposit to the Prince of Orange; and after their deaths, twelve of De Witt's faction assassinate the Prince of Orange to kill him; but he, with six only with him, defended himself and escaped.*—Septem-

* The following horrible account of the barbarities committed on the dead bodies of the De Witts, is extracted from the Netherland Historian, printed at Amsterdam, 1675:—"Their dead bodies were dragged to the place of execution, and hanged by their feet stark naked upon the assents of the gibbet, in the sight of all the world; whereupon, the vulgar's fury not yet satisfied, they, toward the evening, first cut off

ber 1672, the States and people of Holland are in great confusion at this time, being much divided (even when their enemies the French were in their bosomes) in factions; some for seting up the Prince of Orange for their protector and prince, (who was now generall of all their forces against the French); and others for keeping up their old government of a state and commonwealth, which at this tyme is about 100 yeirs old, since Queen Elizabeth in England her days, who then helped them to it, after the revolt from the King of Spaine.

Many of the cities belonging to the Seven Provinces are taken in by French, and great supplies sent to the French armie in Holland from the French King, 70,000 men at once, after the French King went home from his armie. Great reports there were from the Emperor and Princes of Germany to the Dutches, and that there were great supplyes for that end; but nothing yet did for their help.

February 1673. Now some of the Princes of Germany come for the defence of the States of Holland, with the Duke of Brandeburgh; and in March a treaty of peace is proposed between the

the two foremost fingers of John de Witt, wherewith he had subscribed and sworn the perpetual edict, and afterward cut off the fingers, toes, nose, ears, &c. of both of them, and prying into the innermost parts, plucked out their bowels, winding them about their arms, tore their hearts out of their bosoms, screwed open their bodies with wooden pricks, offering to sale in all parts of the city, yea, to other towns, inlandish and outlandish, the torn pieces of their garments, and members of their bodies; a toe was sold for 10, the joynt of a finger for 12, a finger for 15, and an ear for 25 stuyvers, and so *pro rato* accordingly; some of them they dryed, embalmed, and carried about to be seen for money; and they that went to the highest pitch of inhumanity, did (*Horresco referens*) rost their flesh, and ate it. Who would believe that ever our Netherlands should have brought forth Anthropophagi?—See also *A True Relation at Large of the Whole Proceedings during the Imprisonment of Cornelius de Witt, &c. with allowance, printed at London, 1672.*

French, the States of Holland, and the King of England, and is to be kept at Cullin by their commissioners in Aprile. Mean while the Dutch are out at sea, and a great caping of English merchants from all arts by the Dutch pirots.—The parliament of England sat down February 5, 1673, where they allow the king a subsidie of 128,875 lib. for carrying on of his warr; but are displeased with the indulgence given to the papists; particularly renewes their former acts against papists, with all the penal statutes against them. Makes acts for removing them out of trust in the land, and acts for banishing the seminarie priests and jesuits out of Ingland and Ireland. Make acts also against other recusants, who did not submit to the government and worship of the church of England.

Aprile, 1673. The parliament of Ingland is adjourned to the 27th of October next, and great preparations there are made for warr.

The late indulgence granted by the king's majesty to the outed ministers in Scotland, and confynment of them to such parishes in Clydsdale, Baronthrough, Irwin, Air, and Galloway, does not at all relish with some of the brethren, as savouring to much of Errastianism, yet others were satisfied to goe to their confynments, and to preach in these places appointed by the states. There were some purposes amongst the brethren of the ministrie to represent the grivances of the indulgence and confynement unto the States; and some essays were made in all parts of the land, east and west, to draw the brethren to a testimony against the said course, but because of the want of harmonie and unanimitie amongst brethren as to that affair, it was crushed.

Aprile 6, 1673. In regard of the many conventicles that were in the land, the king's councell ishued a proclamation at Edinburgh against the said meetings, with certification of severe censure of the contraveeners. The parliament of Scotland is adjourned to the 12th of November instant.

This summer, 1673, was a very rainie summer, and the harvest exceeding rainie and dangerous.

On the 6th of August was observed a circle about the sun, much lyke to a rainbow, about 12 hours in the day; the lyke has not been usuall, which, as it seems, portended much raine by the event of it; and in October was there a windie Thursday through Britain and Ireland, that shoke more corn upon the ground than what stood.

October, 1673. The King of Spain declares warr with France, and assists the States of Holland, and the Emperor and Princes of Germany.

October 27, 1673, does the parliament of England sit down. At this time the States of Holland (whom all men a little before this tyme lookt on as in a desperat condition, and gave them over as gone) beginn to be more high, and refuse to treat with the commissioners of the King of Britaine, unless the parliament of England send these commissioners also as from them.

The parliament of England, the lower house of them, at their first downsitting, voted some of their number to go to the king to intreat him that the Duke of York's marriage with Modena might not be consummat, and that he might marry a Protestant. The parliament after was prorogat. However, the vote of the House was sent to her (who then was supposed to be near Calais,) that she might know their minds, and not come over to Ingland.* In an-

* See a very pathetic apostrophe to this lady on her unfortunate marriage in Marvel's Advice to a Painter, beginning—

“ Poor Princess ! born under a sullen star,
To find such welcome when you come so far,” &c.

The same poet insinuates in another place, that Anne, Duchess of York, practised magic, as well as the art of deleterious compounds, in order to destroy Lady Denham,

swer to the king's speech, the House of Commons commands their Speaker to show the king's majestie, that, before the time of payment of the 18 months assessment granted by late act of parliament, viz. an act of raising 123,875 lib. for supply of his majesty's extraordinary occasions, be fully expyred, unles it shall appear that the obstinacy of the Dutches render it necessar; nor before this kingdom be secured effectually from the danger of Papist's counsells and counsellors, and the present grievances be redressed, they will suspend any further consideration of that desire. Meanwhile, they draw a bill asserting the Protestant reformed religion, and putting difference betwixt the Popish and reformed religion, which they will have all to subscribe, and that none that refuse the subscription of it shall have any place in parliament, or any other public trust; and another bill, wherein they will have no Papist come within five myles of London, or any chief city in the kingdom.

of whom the duke was enamoured, and who died in the bloom of her youth and beauty, poisoned, it was said, by her husband, the duchess, and Lady Rochester, in a cup of chocolate.

“ Express her studying now, if China clay
Can, without breaking, venom'd juice convey :
Or how a mortal poison she may draw
Out of the cordial meal of the cocoa.
Witness the stars of night, and thou the pale
Moon, that o'ercome with the sick steam didst fail ;
Ye neighbouring elms that your green leaves did shed,
And fauns that from the womb abortive fled.
Not unprovok'd she tries forbidden arts,
But in her soft breast love's hid cancer smarts,
While she revolves at once Sidney's disgrace,
And herself scorn'd for emulous Denham's face,
And nightly hears the hated guard away
Galloping with the duke to other prey.”

October 12, 1673, does the parliament of Scotland sit down, Laderdale being yet continued his majesty's commissioner, and comes to Edinburgh for that effect from London. The Duke of Laderdale, his majesty's commissioner at this first session of parliament, read his majesty's letter to his parliament of Scotland, showing his desire to them of levying soldiers, and lifting money for their maintenance, that the kingdom may be secured from its enemies; which desire the commissioner would have referred to the Lords of the Articles; but the Duke of Hamilton opposed that motion, and told, that since it was a business concerned the whole nation, it was fit it should be treated on by the representative of the nation; to which Sir Patrick Hoome of Polwart applauded publicly, and received a check from the commissioner for it, desiring the parliament to take notice of him, to which he, said Polwart, replied, "that he hoped that this was a full parliament, and it concerned all the members of parliament to be free in what concerned the nation." The Earle of Dundonald after this spoke to the chancellour, that if it pleased the commissioner, the parliament might be adjourned for a little time, and things may be thought on was to satisfy both the king and kingdome, to whose overture the commissioner did heartily acquiesce; whereupon the parliament was adjourned to Munday next.

There was a hint that day given by some members, that the grievances of the nation should be taken to consideration before any thing were done as to that affair; amongst others, the poverty of the nation should be represented to the king, much lyke to the present way of the parliament of England, who would have the grievances first considered ere they condescended to any more subsidie, amongst others, were the standing forces the king had in England, to the depauperating of the people, and the want of bread.

Nov. 24. The parliament of Scotland sit down, and thair was givin in a complaint by Lord Queensbery against Mr John Pater-

son, the dean of Edinburgh, for a seditious preaching he had Sabbath last, reflecting on some members of Parliament, (who gave in some grivances,) telling that the giving in of grivances was the first thing began the first warrs against King Charles the First, and that many now a-days were lyk Absalom siting in the gate, and saying, "O if I were ruler."

This was much quarrell'd by some members of parliament, and the commissioner referred it to the Bishops Sharp and Lighton to consider the same; and if they did not satisfy the parliament, they should take it to their own consideration.

On Tuesday the next day it sits also; and on that day does the Earle of Eglintoun impeach Sir Andrew Ramsay, then provost of Edinburgh, for making lees of the subjects to the king, in saying there was a tumult in Edinburgh for a cheat he us'd toward Skelmurlie in sale of a piece of land, and malversation in his government of the citie, to the number of nine articles; which impeachment the commissioner desired might be subscribed, but it was referred to lawers whether there was any necessity of subscribing it.

Dec. 1673. The Statis Generall send over commissioners to our king, to treat for peace; and they offer, 1. The flag as before: 2. The Carrubie Islands, which belonged to him: 3. They offer him two hundred thousand pounds Sterling, but as yet to no purpose.

The Spanish falls in upon the isles belonging to our king in the West Indies, and kills many of the English in cold blood, and takes the number of 40 sail of merchant ships. Its reported, that our king confirms his league with France for three yeirs, and that the French king offers our king 11 millions for to rick out his navie against the spring against the Dutch, and that his may lay in; and offers to go against them then with three hundred thousand men.

Dec. 1, 1673. By a letter fra the king, is our parliament of Scotland adjurn'd to the 28th of June, the next yeir 1674. The Commissioner Lauderdale, at the desire of the parliament, revokes some acts made the last parliament, viz. the Sumptuary Act; and upon grievances presented, recalls some gifts given to some parliament noblemen, viz. that of monopoly of the salt to Kingcarn; that of brandie and tobacco to others, the impost laid on these. Sir Andrew Ramsey, provost of Edinburgh, demitts all his places, viz. as Lord of the Session, as provost of Edinburgh, and one of the bailays put in his room.

Dec. 8, 1673. Duke Hamilton, and the Earle of Tweedale, take journey for London, to present to the king's majestie, the grievances of the kingdom of Scotland, and to keep themselves fra being mistaken by the king in their actings that way. Lauderdale compliments them at their departure; they went not with his consent.

Bishop Lighton, at his last meeting at the synod of Glasgow, appoints some of the brethren, viz. Mr Ross, parson of Glasgow; Mr Stewart, at Bonill; Mr Whyt, at Air, and some others with him, to go to Edinburgh to present some grievances, viz. against the indulged brethren, that they baptiz'd children of other parishes, and did not keep the 29th of May, the king's birth and restoration day; and that they did not keep the injunctions of the councill: 2dly, Against conventicles; against some of them they alleged treasonable speeches in their sermons, and charges some with adultery and fornication: 3. Against some young men that preach, as they alledge, without appoyntment of the church-officers. These grievances were presented to the commissioner and Bishop Sharp by these brethren, and were remitted to the king's councill.

Dec. 1673. Now the States Generall adjudge our king's letter, sent to them in answer to theirs by common vote, to be high and

obstinat ; and therefore gives order to rig out their navie to fight him in the spring ; and with high language declares they will treat no more with the king ; and if they make any offers of peace further, it shall be to his parliament of England.

Duke Hammilton, in his journey to London, is necessitat to pass through Berwick, and that night seek lodging elsewhere, in regard of the great convoy he had with him, of an 100 horse, that lenth ; which the governour wold not suffer to abyd in the city. The governour intercepts the letters before-hand the duke had sent for London, and sent them to Lauderdale at Edinburgh, whereby he understood all his and his parties projects. Lauderdale, the king's commissioner, finding Duke Hamilton take journey for London, sent away the Erle of Kincarn post to London, that he may be before him, and pre-occupy the king. Lauderdale keepis yet good hopis of the king's favour, and professes his hopes of it publicly while he lives. Mean while Duke Hamilton goes throw the country, and has the acclamations of the people, and has good wishes for his save journey, and returnes. The German forces gave a great defeat to the French, and kills many of them, about the last of November 1673. The King of Polland gives a great defeat to the Turks at this season, and kills of them to the number of 30,000.

The Duke of Laderdale keeps great hopes of the King's favour, notwithstanding the opposition he meets with fra the lords, and others of the parliament of Scotland ; and tells his favorites, that Duke Hamilton will come down Commissioner, Tweedal Secretar, and Sir John Harper Lord President. He seems to be very little concerned in all this adoe.

Dec. 22, 1673, was taken away by death Mr John Burnet, minister at Kilbryd, near Glasgow, a worthy and sober man, truly godly and judicious, which was both a great loss to his parish, and

also to his brethren, who had him in great estimation. He dyed of the yellow jaundice, and had a son lately dead before him; and seeing his son dissected, and the physicians finding fault with his noble parts, presently apprehends a faultiness in his own, which apprehension stuck with him even to his death, which physicians took to be the cause of his sickness; so strong is the power of apprehension. Siclyk about the same tyme, dies Mr Alexander Blair, who being cast into prison at Edinburgh by the Councell, sickens, and then is removed out of prison, and dyes.

The parliament of Scotland is adjourned fra the 28th of January, 1674, to the 3d of May instant.

The parliament of England passes a bill against the Duke of Lauderdale, that he shall be laid aside from all publick trust in England, and that he shall not hereafter be found in England, nor see the king's face. Now comes the great reports of peace betwixt England and Holland. The King of Spain his ambassador dealls for it; and in the States' name has offered the king the flag, and a great summ for the English losses in the warr, together with some of the English islands they have in their possession.

Mr John Paterson, dean of Edinburgh, is suspended by an order fra the king, at Duke Hamilton's moyan.

Mr Robert Dowglass dies in the end of January 1674, being about 80 yeers, and an old minister in the Church of Scotland.

Some queries the parliament of England proposed to the Duke of Buckingham, to be answered by him when he came before the House of Commons, in all humility entreating their favour. 1. Whether any persons have at any tyme declared to him, any of the advyces or ill purposes against the libertie of this House, or propounded any ways to him for altering our government; and if they did, what was the advyce, and by whom? 2dly, What was meaned by

this expression yesterday uttered by yourself? 2. By whose advyce the army was raised, and papists set to officer them, and Mr Shomberg to be their generall? 3. Whether he knows that any have advys'd to make use of the army to aw the debates and resolutions of this House? 4. By whose counsell and ministry the treple league was made, and the first treaty with France, whereby it was broken, and the articles thereof?

5. And the declaration about matters of religion made? 6. And the Smyrna fleet fallen upon before the war was declared?

7. By whose counsell the warr was made with the States of Holland, without advyce of Parliament, and the Parliament thereon prorogued?

Feb. 1674. Duke Lauderdale, the king's commissioner, has his pension of 60 lib. sterling *per diem* reduced to 10 lib. sterling, whereupon he retrinches his family, and the reduction is to be from Dec. 3. last, for which moneys he is to be countable.* The black box is sent no more to him but to the chancellor, because he broke up many letters before delyvery, at which the king was offended as its said. His brother Hattoun he brought him before the Councell to be examined in the matters of the Mint he was charged with, thereby pretending to make him escape the tryall of the parliament; but the Lord Dumfries and Queensberry protested against their exoneration of that affair, since already it was before the parliament. They alleged that this Lord Hattoun had caused light

* This reduction was made at Lauderdale's own desire, as appears from a passage in a letter addressed by him to the Earl of Kincardine, dated 8th January, 1674. "I do make it my humble suit that my allowance of L.50 a-day may cease at the day I adjourn the parliament, for I swear it will be much easier for me to live at L.10 than at L.50; by the great one I am no gainer, and I am deadly weary of being mine host to all Scotland; and at ten I shall keep a better table than ever Earl Rothes did on that allowance."—WODROW MSS.

money to be cast, to the prejudice of the commonwealth, which yet could not be made appear.

December 1673, the French king had demolished four or five churches of the protestants there. The ground is supposed to be, becaus they were built without his license. The ministers thereof mett within the ruined walls of these churches with their congregations, whereupon the king caused apprehend them, and whip them publicly, (which is ill taken, and no wonder, by the protestants both here and abroad ;) and some of these ministers are said to have dyed of their stripes.

January 1674. The beginning of it there was great storms, and snow ; the wind fra the east, and great loss at sea, to the number of 20 saill (in 24 hours tyme) of ships cast away 'twixt Newcastle and the Bass in Scotland. So also great stormes and bad weather all the next February.

The French king offers to our king Dunkirk to himself, Calis and other cities in pledge, on condition he would assist against the Hollanders with a great summ of money ; but the parliament seeing the danger, would not harken to that motion.—February 1674, the king's majesty, with his parliament of England, at lenth harkens to the overtures of peace made to them by States of Holland, and now concludes a peace with them and seals it ; which was to the great joy of the nations, because our kingdomes much desired to have peace with Holland ; and in effect, this warr with them was much to our loss, especialy England's, their loss of trade, the loss of men, of money, and of honour ; for the English had never the better of them ; which war made the caball men who advised the king to it hatefull to the parliament of England, and to all that loved the good and honour of the nation. So that when the parliament sate, they were all brought to an account for their advyce to the king, and by that gave advertisement to all succeeding generations,

that none suld presume afterward to advyse their kings to warr, and matters greatly concerning the nations, without advyse of his states of parliament.

Lykways the parliament was jealous of thir caball lords, that they had advised the king to rule only by the sword, and to fright his parliament.

The grounds of their jealousie were, that the king had often raised them, and prorogued them, so that they could never get any thing done to purpose for the good of the nation. Next, that the king, by their advyce, had raised up a number of men in England, and constitut a great armie in it, which was a great grievance to the parliament. 3. That the Duke of Lauderdale (one of the caball lords), in the parliament he kept in Scotland, as the king's commissioner, caused make an act of levying 20,000 foot, and 2000 horse, whenever the king sould command to levie them, and to send them to any part of his dominions whenever he should call for them, which act the parliament of England did much quarrell.

The parliament of England past a vote that no money should be lifted, nor no cess laid on, without their consent in England, and that it should be treason for any to levie or contribute moneys without their commands.

The Prince of Orange being now made State-holder of the United Provinces, heritably to him and his, provyding always they be protestants, he, with the States of Holland, takes in hand to discover to our king the double-dealing of the King of France with him in two instances; one is, that he sent to their States offering peace with them, provyding they wold not make peace with the King of England; an other is, that he should have sent to the States to encourage them in their sea-fight against the Inglish with this, that he had commanded his sea forces not to fight against the Dutch, nor to help the English, (which, indeed, fell out so at one tyme); howbeit

our King of Ingland sent out his navie for the help and aid of the French against the Dutches. The truth is, it is now more than apparent that the French king hath had a design of subduing Britain and Ireland, and the United Provinces, and annexing them to his crown, and that this design he hath carried on politically, and did bribe some of the king's great counsellors to advyse him to a warr with Holand, on purpose that he might break the two, one against the other; and now its most apparent that there has been a great design of carrying on of Poperie, and of settling the Romish religion amongst us. Some whereof of that party have been so confident, that they have worn their medalls publickly in England, as being a badge thereof. But the members of the English parliament, as noble patriots, well foreseeing the hazard that both religion and their country was in, hath studyed by all means to make peace with Holland, and to secure religion by making strict acts against the Papists. Therefor, at this parliament, they make two very commendable acts, one is of a Test, wherein is offered an oath to all suspected persons of Poperie, in which they must abjure the most materiall heids of Poperie, and in effect is the same what is contained in the National Covinant; and all these that will not take this oath are not to be put into any publick trust, nor are they to be near London be five mylles. Another bill they made, that none should be admitted, nor lay any claim to the crown of England, but he that is a Protestant.

The parliament of England passed a bill, that any of the sober non-conformists in England may have liberty to represent their grievances.

They appoynt also a committee for enquiring in the king's power to imprison any person without the parliament.

February, 1674, the end of it, dyed Sir Robert Cuningham, doc-

tor of medicine, in a day's sick, of an iliack passion, a worthy man, and very usefull in his tyme.

Doctor Purvose dyed long before, of an extreme cold, and could not be kept in heat, God letting us see that all means apply'd for our health, without his blessing them, are ineffectual;* as also Dr Mean, who dyed many years before him of a squinacy, with a great byle in his throat, no means essay'd be him could help him.

February 20, 1674, fell on a great storm of snow and a vehement frost, which continued till the 29th day of March; all fresh waters was frozin as if in the midst of winter; all plowing and delving the ground was marr'd till the foresaid day; much loss of sheep by the snow, and of whole families in the moor country and hy lands; much loss of coves every where, also of weild beasts, as do and roe.

February, 1674. The peace being made betwixt England and Holland, the French king stormes at it, having a purpose to carry on his warr against Holland, sent over to our king and resents it. Our king, with his parliament of England, returns his answer, that they had more reason to resent his carriage to the Protestants of

* In the Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence, is a strange instance of this *continual chillness*, a disorder which the Whigs were more particularly apt to impute to their clerical adversaries in the discharge of their religious duties. "Mr Dalglish, curate of Parton, having a Popish young man before him, upon the stool of repentance, for fornication, the spark holding an onion in his handkerchief, made his eyes water, which the curate taking for tears, he wished that all his parishioners were such penitents as he; and comforting him, said, that it was the least of faults, and a venial sin betwixt a single man and a single woman; adding, that if he were as thin clothed as the young man was, he could be content to be a-bed with a married woman for heat, but not to do her any wrong: for you must understand that this person was so chilly, that he wore twenty-one fold of cloth on him all the year, and furs on his head day and night. He left his church, and turned Papist about a year before the Revolution."

France, (for at that time the French king used the Protestants hardly,) and that they wold resent his hard usage of them.

March 2, 1674. Duke Hamilton comes to Edinburgh from London, accompanied into the city with 5 or 600 horse. He had no good acceptance of the king at London; and when he came to salute the Duke of Lauderdale, the king's commissioner, he is but bauchly entertained.

March 3, 1674. The parliament of Scotland sits down, Duke Laderdale being commissioner; and contrar the expectations of all members thereof, and of Duke Hamilton, who was but newly come fra court, and knew nothing of it, adjurn'd the parliament to November next, 18 day, having got a letter fra the king for that end that morning, which put all our parliament members to an amuse.

It is supposed that Lauderdale, fearing the consequences of the sitting of the two parliaments as to himself, who in effect had him for their great grievance, adresst the king to adjurn both; and having got his answer, cryed out twise, in the hearing of some nobility, with a great oath in his mouth, that he was undone. Those by him supposing that he had gott bad newes, knowing that both parliaments were against him, ask him, why he cryed so, and then he replyes, I am undone with the favour of my gracious prince. All men are troubled at the adjurnment of the parliaments, and all loyal men are truely grieved for it, fearing the sad consequences of it; and others, who love to fish in moddy waters, and look after changes of the government, are glad thereat.

March 18, 1674, dyed suddanly that eminent minister Mr George Hutcheson, being about 59 yeirs at Irvine, having examined all day before some of the people of his parish, and took his supper as he used, and after his first sleep fell exceeding unwell, and in two hours tyme was removed, as was thought by a plurisie of blood: thus the church lost an eminent light. He was a man much

weighted with the wofull divisions of our tymes, and yet had no less measured out to him, than others of the worthies of the Church of Scotland that went before him, even reproach and evill speaking, so that I truely think reproach broke his heart; and when he was gone, except by them of whom wisdom is justified, his death was but by few mourned for; so that it was truely verified of him, "the righteous perish, and no man lays it to heart;" it is the same who emitted learned and usefull comments upon the Minor Prophets, Job, and the Evangell of John, and who was minister at Edinburgh before our troubles fell in.

Aprile 1674, the Duke of Lauderdale, his majesty's commissioner, takes jurnay fra Edinburgh to London, notwithstanding any bill of the Inglish parliament to the contrar, and is graciously welcomed by the king's majesty. Before he went, he told his noble friends he was not affraid of any bogles by the way, it being surmised afore, that some would seek his hurt by the way. He was truly a man of a great spirit, great parts, great witt, a most daring man, and a man of great success, and did more without the sword than Oliver Cromwell, the great usurper, did with it; was a man very national, and truely the honour of our Scots nation for witt and parts.

May and June, 1674, the king changes some of his English counsellors, and sends down also and changes some of his Scots counsellors, and puts in new ones, the Earle of Wigton, my Lord Ross, my Lord Craigie, one of the Lords of Session, and all this by the advyce of the Duke of Lauderdale, now at London with the king's majesty; and those that were judged by him to be opposit to Lauderdale were put off; for at that time an unhappy difference fell out betwixt Duke Lauderdale and Duke Hamilton, who had many for him. But the Duke of Lauderdale soon gott many for him, so that a great heat grew betwixt the two parties; but Lauderdale having the king's ear, and being, indeed, the king's greatest favourite in all the three nations, he easily mastered his contrar partie.

June 1674, the king by Lauderdaill's advyce, as thought, sends down and causes intimat his will of dissolving the parliament of Scotland, so that now it cannot sitt in the appointed tyme.*

June and July 1674, now growes the heat great against conventicles, and the keepers of them. Some gentlemen in Fife, who heard Mr Welsh preach, and others who resett him in their houses, and that rode in the way with him, are all summoned before the councell. Some of them compear not, and are denounced rebels, and made fugitives and forfeited. These that did compear, to the number of nine, are cast in the tolbooth at Edinburgh, whereof some had been remitted to the criminal court, viz. Pitlochie, Riddill, Laristoun, because of their converse with the said Mr John Welsh, who was then declared a rebell, were it not that the councell thought fitt first to acquaint his majesty with it, who, when he heard of it, passes from the criminall part, and refers them to his councell to be otherwise punished. Whereupon they are fined in great summs of money; so that they, and the rest, as to their fynes and charges, amounted to the summ of 20,000 merks and upwards, as themselves declared; and albeit they would have given bond to have payed their fines at Candlemass, and put in their petitions to the councell for that effect, that they might be sett at liberty to purchase their moneys; yet it could not be granted, and none of them was set at liberty, untill they had fully payed their fynes; and yet some of them declared that if they would have taken the oath of supremacy, they had been sett at libertie without a fyne.

* There is one thing remarkable, that, when the Duke of Lauderdale was in his greatest troubles at Edinburgh, and both parliaments of England and Scotland set against him, so that all men concluded he was undone, I knew a man that had this vision of him, that he saw Duke Hamilton ushering him into a room, and that the said Duke of Lauderdale had by far greater honour there than Duke Hamilton.—*Note by the Author.*

About this tyme, a considerable number of women at Edinburgh put in a supplication to the king's councell, for libertie to the presbyterian ministers to preach the gospell up and down the land; and for that end, mett in the Parliament Closs, and presented their petitions to the noblemen as they past by. This was ill taken by the king's councell, and lookt on as a tumultuous meeting. Their petition was rejected; and they, a great part of them, were punished with prison in Edinburgh tolbooth, and others of them kept long in, becaus they would not declare who did draw up that paper.*

About this tyme, the people went in to Madlen Chapel, to hear a presbyterian minister. Mr William Weir preach'd that day; some of them were apprehended, and put in prison.

About this tyme, also, there was preaching in vacant kirks about Edinburgh, as Cramont and others, by presbyterian ministers, which did much offend the magistrat, and no question without any design on the ministers' part to offend. But the churches being vacant, and they called by the people of such congregations to preach the gospel to them, both the people and they judged the church the most convenient place for preaching. However, the king sends down a letter to his councell, showing his dislyke of that way, and wills them to punish the said persons; whereupon they were summon'd, with many other ministers, to the number of 43; and they not compeiring, are denounced and made rebells. Mr Robert Law,

* These viragoes, headed by the Rev. Mr Livingston's widow, and a daughter of Lord Warriston, had laid a plan of murdering Archbishop Sharp, it being agreed that Mrs Livingston was to hold up her hand as a signal for the pious sisterhood to rend the prelate in pieces; but Lord Rothes contrived to engage her in conversation till the opportunity was lost.—*Vide KIRKTON and WODROW.*

minister of Kilpatrick Easter, who had gone to the vacant kirk of Kilsyth, upon the invitation of the people, to preach to them, and that very innocently, was, by an order of the Erle of Wigton, a new made counsellor and shirriff of Dumbartonshire, and captane of the castle, to Robert Fleeming, sriver in Dumbarton Castle, taken out of his bed with the castle soldiers, and committed prisoner at Glasgow the 9th of July, 1674, and there remained eight days, and afterwards was sent for by my Lord Atholl, and brought to Edinburgh tolbuith by some of the gentlemen of the lyfe-guard, where he lay twelve days. Being examined, he confessed he had kept meetings, and preached in the church of Kilsyth, and was set free fra prison upon bond of compearance whenever called for, and so on the same bond was Mr John Law in Kirkcaldie, and Mr John King, chaplan to my Lord Cardross, made prisoner for the cause of preaching, released at Edinburgh also.

While the said Mr Robert was prisoner at Edinburgh for preaching the gospell of Christ, was brought in a prisoner for stealing a horse, and was put up with the rest of the malefactors, and that very night he cut his own throat, the rest of the prisoners by him being sleeping. He was examined the morrow after by the said Mr Robert Law, how it came to pass he attempted self-murther? He answered, the devill appeared to him. He enquired, in what shape? He answered, in the shape of a long man, and black long hair. He was interrogat, where? He answered, in yonder nook of the house; and, (pointing at it with his hand,) he inquir'd what he said to him? He replyed, he harled me to him, and bid me cutt my throat, and he should warrant me. Upon this occasion, the Sabbath after, the said Mr Robert made choice of the malefactors' turnpyke to preach the gospell to them, and (this man heard with the rest) upon the text, Acts, iii. 19.; and it was thought, not without some fruit, for some of the malefactors was much affected.

And the other turnpyk of the free prisoners, he desired Mr John Law and Mr John King to preach to them, which they did.

August 1674. The beginning of it, the king's counsell, before their rising, divides themselves into three quorums; one to sitt at Cowper in Fyfe; another at Edinburgh; and the third at Stirling and Glasgow, upon all conventicle keepers; whereupon Sir William Primrose is appoynted to take a list of these about Stirling and Glasgow, and within the said burghs; and appoint messengers at arms to summond them against the prefixed time.

Mr Gilbert Burnett, professor of theologie in the colledge of Glasgow, being afore made one of the king's chaplanes at London; and this summer having gone up to preach his turn before the king, the Duke Lauderdale advysed the king to give him a bill of ease, and to dismiss him; because, as was reported, he was a great stickler in that great difference and heat that fell out at that tyme betwixt these two great persons, the Duke of Lauderdale and the Duke of Hamilton, and *merito*, ministers of the gospel should be peacemakers, and not strife incendiaries and fomentors. *

August 11, 1674, did the confederat army and the French joyn battell; there was a sore conflict: The confederats lost that day, besyd common soldiers, 200 commanders, and the French, beside common soldiers, which wer a great number, lost to the number of 500 commanders, besides dukes and marquises.

* Burnet's meddling temper, and slight regard for truth, made him a very dangerous spy in the cabinet of the politician. From papers which the Editor has perused, it is evident that the Duke of Hamilton entertained no good opinion of his conduct respecting the publication of the Memoirs of his wife's ancestors, so heavilywritten, from the materials at Hamilton Palace; and the Duke of Lauderdale soon felt the sting of the snake also.—In after times, Burnet's merits as a man, and as an author, have been always either too highly rated, or too much decried.

The king's majesty having sent down a letter from Windsor to his counsell in Scotland, June 23, requiring them to see strictly to all the disorders in the kingdom, to take notice of all them that kept conventicles, that invaded churches, and to punish the ring-leaders of them severely; and to take notice of all the insolencies were committed among them, particularly of the armed rebels he heard were up and down in that land; and for fear of any rebellion in the land, he wryts that he has ordered some troupes of English horse to come and ly near Berwick, and some of the train bands in Ireland to come and ly near the shore, that, in case of any insurrection, they might be ready on a call to help them. This letter put his majesty's counsellors to more vigourousness in executing the laws against those meetings, so that oaths are proffered now to the people not to keep neither house nor field-meetings, and that they shall only hear such as are appoynted by law, or shall be. Some out of their fear subscribed these bonds, others refusit, and are cast up in prison.

Some of the conformists brethren within the diocese of Edinburgh, having profered to the bishop, viz. Bishop Young, a petition, which they desired he might proferr to the rest of the bishops, the tenor whereof was to this purpose,—that they would interpose with the king for a convocation of the clergy, for rectifying abuses in the church, and securing of religion, that is lyke to wear out. This petition Bishop Young let Bishop Sharp, the metropolitan, see, which, when he saw, supposing they had levelled at him, he storm'd extremely, and furthwith sent to the Duke Laderdale, and procures an order fra the king for confyning these that had a chief hand in this petition; whereupon a letter from the king is sent to his counsell for that effect, of date 20th July, 1674, bearing the Bishop of Dumblane, Mr James Ramsay, to be removed within 20 days out of the diocese of Glasgow; Mr Archibald Turner to Glasgow city;

Mr Andrew Cant to Liberton; Mr John Hamilton, minister at Leith, to the manse of Cramont; Mr John Robertson, to an house in Murray, all within the space of 20 days; to all which obedience was given.

Mr Robert Lighton, Archbishop of Glasgow, having displeased the Duke of Laderdale by appearing to be of Duke Hamilton's faction, as it seems to Laderdale, against him, he advysed the king to accept of his dimission of his charge; for a long tyme, in a seeming deny'd way, did this bishop still offer this, though he did not mean it, as it seemed by his after dealings; therefore, in June 1674, goes he up to London to demitt, but what he did in jest was taken in earnest by the king, and Laderdale his secretary; and he got a bill of ease, and is set off. His brother, Sir Elias Lighton, and the queen's elymosiner, (and, as some think, not without his own desire,) interpose for him and mediat with the king and Laderdale, that at lest he might remain yet in his office for a yeir's time, but in vain, for it was otherways resolved by Laderdale; Mr Alexander Burnet, who before was Archbishop of Glasgow, and outed by the said Laderdale, upon some displeasure he conceived at him, by the same Laderdale is reponed again, (such is the instability of tymes) comes to Glasgow, takes possession of his place, and keeps synod the second Tuesday of October, 1674.

The difference betwixt the Duke of Lauderdale and the nobility on his syde, and the Duke of Hammilton and the nobility on that side, begetts great trouble to our nation; for Laderdale, having the king's ear, and having a principal seat in his heart, works now with the king to quash and bring to nought that party, whereupon some of the magistrats of burrows, which seemed to syd with Hamilton, are turned off, particularly these of Aberdeen and Dundee; the Bishop of Glasgow turnes off these of Glasgow, and others are put in their room. These of other cities, as of Edinburgh and Perth,

who did syd with Laderdale, are continued ; particular gentlemen that syded with Hamilton, are shut up in prison, and all by an order from the king, viz. Generall-Major Drummond is committed to the Castle of Dumbarton, October, 1674, a gentleman who before had fought for the king against these of the late insurrection in the west ; my Lord Cardross, anno 1675, is shutt up in the Castle of Edinburgh, and made prisoner, and his house garrisoned with soldiers. Lauderdale, supposing that the presbyterian ministers in Scotland did more favour Duke Hamilton and his way than himself and his way, conceives prejudice against them, and marrs the extent of the indulgence which was intended. That was his great mistake, for nothing can be more certainly affirmed than that the indulged brethren did love the peace of the nation, and the peace of these two noble families, wishing peace to both. Howbeit, it cannot be denied but that there was some not indulged, who sought to fish in muddie waters.

The Burrows of Scotland having mett in August 1674 for the good of the burghs within this kingdom, drew up a letter to the king's majesty, in answer to a letter that came from his majesty to them, wherein they charge the blame of the many troubles upon the acts of the preceeding parliament, of which the Duke Lauderdale was commissioner, and for rectifying the same, they intreat for the sitting of a new parliament. This is lookt on by the Duke of Lauderdale as too high language, and a deed not only reflecting on himself, but on the acts of parliament. These that had chief hand in this letter are incarcerat, viz. the Provost of Aberdeen, William Anderson, Provost of Glasgow, and the Provost of Jedburg, all at Edinburgh, being summoned aforehand by a lyon-herald to enter themselves to the tolbuith of Edinburgh against such a day, which they did ; for so was the king's letter to his counsell that they should be put in close prison, and there await till further orders. The pro-

vosts of all the burrows of Scotland that consented to this letter, which they sent to the king's majesty, were summoned in to compare before the counsell. They were inquired who were the authors of this letter, particularly Provost Anderson of Glasgow, and indirectly he let fall that Sir George M'Kenzie, advocat, was the man. After some continuance in prison they are all fyned; William Anderson in 6000 merks, who payed it afterward, and received his bond, he that was late provost of Glasgow; the provost of Aberdeen in 3000 merks; the provost of Jedburgh in 2000 merks; and so are let out of prison to their own dwellings.

A little before this time does some particular advocats appeal from the Lords of the Session in a particular case, wherein they supposed maleadministration or wresting of justice, unto the parliament of Scotland, and refuse to plead untill the time of rectification of this wrong; severals of them combine in this to the number of fifty-five. This is ill taken by my Lord President Stairs, and the rest of the Lords of Session. The Duke of Lauderdale has nottice of this, and represents it to the king, who is offended, and orders them off the city of Edinburgh 12 miles. Notwithstanding shows them his clemency, that if any of them will come in against the 28th of January 1675, and acknowledge their fault in all humility to the Lords of Session, they shall be accepted; and threatens, upon the word of a king, that after that they shall not be accepted. Yet, upon supplication sent to the king by some of their number to London, viz. Sir George Lockhart, and Sir John Cunningham, and another, their confynment is taken off, and they have liberty to go where they please, and reside in Edinburgh or elsewhere.

This year, 1674, ends in a stormy winter; great winds in it, great scaith at sea, and great loss of ships. Victuall very dear; the boll of meall is 12 lib., and 20 merks for five furlots of malt, and that in January 1675, in the mercat of Glasgow; the harvest before being

very evill for the corns that were so late in sowing the last spring, throw the long continuance of the frost, were not rypened for the most part, but very green in October, as if it had been in August. The September of that year was very fair, and hott all throughout, and if Providence had not so ordered it, we would have had great scarcity of victuall, if not a great famine; but the October following was very rainie, which kept back the corns from rypening, and necessitat the people to take in the corn half wett and green, which occasioned much ill meall, though dear; for, till the beginning of October, there was little or no shearing; yet the following months, November, December, and January, there was not eight days frost, which helped well forward the labour and tillage of the land, and was very helpfull to the cattell, under that scarcity of fodder there was; and notwithstanding of all that great storm that was the last February and March, wherein many people and cattell dyed, yea, the deer and other wild beasts were starved to death with hunger and cold in the Hylands and other parts, yet was there not any tyme cows found fatter than in this last harvest, and no scarcitie either of sheep or cows for slaughter, nor no dearth of them more than at other tymes. Thus the Lord who casts down with the one hand, lifts up with the other. Blessed be his name for ever!

Aprile 13, 1675, sits down the parliament of England, and begins where they left; the Duke Lauderdale being beforehand made an English lord, sitts in the House of Peers; the House of Commons desire the king to remove Lauderdale from his counsell, and off England and his presence, which they urge for two reasons;—one was, that he should have said at Whitehall that the king's edict was equivalent to an act of parliament; the other was, he being a great minister of state, had procured an act of the Scotts parliament for raising 2000 men to be carryed to any of his majesty's dominions, whenever it pleased his majesty to call for them. The king takes

their desire to consideration, and afterwards returns them this answer,—That he saw no reason why he should remove so great a minister of state from him, that had been so faithfull and loyall to him. Upon these grounds, considering that if he spoke these words, he had spoken them before the act of indemnity and oblivion was past, with their own consent, in favours of his subjects, and now he could not recall it; and as to the other, that reflection was upon his parliament of Scotland more than on the said Duke of Lauderdale.

Mr Gilbert Burnet, late Professor of the Colledge of Glasgow, being out of favour with Lauderdale, represents to the House of Commons in England at this time, that Lauderdale should have said at a certain tyme in Scotland, in Duke Hamilton's house, that if the Presbyterians of Scotland should ryse upon their dissatisfactions, he knew of as many Popish priests as wold cutt them all in pieces. Thus he represents the said duke.

Ro. Murray, a gentleman of Perthshyre, some tyme aforehand having gone up to the king, and having access, shows his majesty that these that advysed him to introduce prelacy were not his friends, and desired the king, as he loved his peace and quietness, that he would remove them. For this freedom the king's councill at London committs him prisoner in Newgate, and now when the English parliament sitts, the same gentleman makes his complaint against Lauderdale, as having chief hand in his committment, (it being the English law that no commitment should be without due tryall;) the like does Mr Gilbert Burnet make complaint, becaus he was discharged off court. This Mr Gilbert Burnet, three years ago, had married Lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter of the Erle of Castles, a lady of great repute for knowledge and religion, and zealously inclyned against prelacy; all men condemn her for that match with him who was prelatick. The marriage was consummat

in a clandestine way, by an order fra Young, Bishop of Edinburgh, to Mr Pat. Grahame, and that only before two of Mr Gilbert's servants, and was three yeirs before it was known. The said lady, who before kept with her cusine the Dutches of Hamilton, upon the publishing of it, retires to Edinburgh, condoling her own case, and his present unfortune. She was well stricken in yeirs before her marriage. *

* Lady Margaret Kennedy, who had arrived at an advanced age previous to her marriage with Burnet, was long deemed one of the female heads of the Presbyterian party. She had been at one time the intimate friend of Lauderdale, who was ever a Presbyterian in his heart; and after he came down, as the king's commissioner, to Scotland, she resided with him in the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, being the only female who lodged there; his grace not hesitating to go openly to her chamber in his night-gown; an indiscretion which, according to Sir George Mackenzie, occasioned much scandal; but when Lady Margaret was told of the reports and laughter to which her conduct gave rise, she only answered, that "her virtue was above suspicion;" "as reallie," continues Sir George, "it was, she being a person whose religion exceeded as far her witt, as her parts exceeded others of her sex;" this acute lawyer forgetting that his own statement of facts gives the flat contradiction to his remark. It is not easy to account for her marriage with Burnet, whom Kneller has represented as never having possessed much of the Adonis; and whose principles, as to religion and civil government, were at that time directly the reverse of her own; but if the Lady Dysart supplanted her in Lauderdale's favour, it is probable that Burnet's subsequent malice against the duke may be imputed in a great measure to his wife, whose temper appears to have been none of the sweetest. Though a strict puritan, she is said to have taken it into her head, during the reign of the Commonwealth, to revile some of Cromwell's soldiers from a window; the men threatened to fire at her if she went on, but the lady still indulged herself in giving vent to her eloquence, until the soldiers fired, and very nearly hit another woman at the window with her.—Lady Margaret was the first of three wives whom Burnet married. If we are to believe the scandalous chronicles of the day, he was not more remarkable for his conjugal than his political constancy.—See MANLEY'S *Atalantis*.—See also, in Mr Rose's Answer to Mr Fox's historical work, a curious account of Burnet, given to Lord Dartmouth by the Duke of Hamilton, in whose household the bishop was always styled Father Burnet.

The parliament of England makes an act, May 1675, against all seminarie priests, to remove them off England under pain of death, which the king consents to, which was ground of rejoycing to all Protestants, for now Poperie spreads extremelie.

The parliament order their 2000 men that are in the French king's service to return to England, lest they should seem to oppose the confederat armies, which also the king consents to.

May 1675, Mr Arthur Ross, parson of Glasgow, is consecrat Bishop of Argile, and Mr Paterson, minister at Edinburgh, Bishop of Galloway, by the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Bishop of Edinburgh, and another bishop, at Edinburgh, the said moneth.

At this tyme, in May 1675, came soldiers to Glasgow, both foot and horse, and marrs all privat meetings; and meetings in the country are marred each Sabbath by the horsemen, so that the Presbyterian ministers for the tyme residing in Glasgow, goe off the town, and severalls of them seek dwelling else where. Now the parliament of England propose a test to be taken by all members, and others in power, to this purpose:

I, A. B. do swear to maintain the Protestant religion, with church and civill government as its now established in England, and never to alter the same. The import of it was to maintain prelacy in the church; all the House of Peers took it.

The House of Commons make a third address to the king, for removing Lauderdaill from his councell and presence; and in this vote, there was for the Duke of Lauderdaill 116, and against him 186. All the House of Peers were for him, and all the bishops were for him. He reponed Bishop Burnet to his former place at

Some strong evidences respecting his disregard to truth may be found in the Lockhart Papers lately printed, where he is accused of stating conversations with the Duchess of Hamilton, which her grace, a woman of strict veracity, made no scruple to disown.

Glasgow, and the bishop dealls with the bishops of England to take part with him, which they did.

Prince Rupert, who had been with the king's father, King Charles the First, in all his troubles he mett with from his parliament, advysed Laderdale to remove from court, since the parliament was so hott in their pursuit of him; but the duke flatly refuses, so long as the king will stick by him. Indeed, the king did very much adhere to Laderdaill, and put honour upon him above others of his nobility; and Laderdale well understood, that there was great difference betwixt this parliament and that, these tymes and yonder tymes.

Sir William Lockhart of Lee, being the king's ambassador for France, dyes there August 1675, a gentleman of good parts, but still loving courtship and great honour; therefore he made himself great with Oliver Cromwell the late usurper, and now with the king, but death takes him away. It should commend a privat lyfe to us, fearing God, and serving him, seeing there is no happiness, but toill and trouble in the enjoyment of great things.

June 1675, the king prorogues his parliament of England, for several reasons, as that there were great heats amongst them at present; but that was done on purpose, that these bills given in against Lauderdale, for removing him from the king's presence, may be of no effect; therefore was the parliament prorogued and not adjurn'd, for then all bills and acts stand in force that are made before the adjurnment; but whatever bills or acts are made before the prorogation of it, are of no force or effect afterward. No money is granted to the king by this parliament either for defraying of his debts, or raysing any forces either by sea or land.

At this tyme, June 1675, new forces are rais'd in Scotland, and maintain'd by the king's pay, without any money levied off the country for their maintenance. It was given out, that this levie

was for suppressing of conventicles, but others thought it was for the bearing down of Duke Hamilton's party. However, some ministers are taken, particularly Mr Hugh Peebles, who was helping an indulged brother at the communion of Kilbarchan, and was carryed prisoner, 1st to Glasgow, and then to Edinburgh, and was confyned to the place he lived in, under pain of 3000 merks, and gave bond to compeir when called for; and other two, Mr Blair and Mr Campbell, who were taken at the same tyme, and for the same cause, were set free, upon their bond of compearance. August 1675. The councell of Scotland orders letters against intercommuning with these ministers that were denounced and put to the horn last yeir for their non-compearance before the councell when they were cited. They were to the number of seventeen that this act past against, beside many others, gentlemen and women also. That no intercourse be any of the king's lieges could be kept with them; no lodging of them, nor giving them meat, without incurring the same hazard, and being repute seditious persons with themselves. This put them on their keeping, and that they could not keep their own houses.

August 1675, does the king's councell of Scotland order severall places within the kingdom to be garrison'd; 50 footmen and 12 horsemen are to be put in every garrison for suppressing conventicles, as is given out.

August 1675, does the French gett a sore defeat by the confederats, and their army reduced to a small number, what by slaughter, and what by their running away throw want of victuals. The Duke of Lorain turns head to them of Brittany in France that rose up against the King of France. Paris also is at this time in great confusion; so that he that made Europ afraid of him before the last years, is now himself brought low this yeir. Count de Crikie,

who succeeded to Generall Turrine, was taken prisoner, and many men slain in the fight.

Some of the shyres in Scotland, particularly the Merse, Air, and Renfrew, mett upon this act past for garrisoning some castles in Scotland, and wrote to the king's counsell their dislike of it, showing that it was against the acts of parliament, particularly that of King James VI., and that it looked lyke an arbitrary power over the free subjects. Upon this these of Air and Renfrew get an allowance in the first end of the cess for furnishing the garrisons within their bounds with bed and bed-cloaths, and other necessars.

Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart being called before the councell, did own that letter that came from the shyre, and for his seeking a suspension from the Lords of Session against that act of councell, and taking instruments for refusall, was made prisoner in the tol-booth of Edinburgh, September 1675. It would seem that these of Lauderdall's faction in the councell did mynd that this gentleman was of Duke Hamilton's partie.

Lord Archibald Campbell, Earle of Argile, (and son of Lord Archibald Campbell, late Marquis of Argile, who was beheided at Edinburgh, when Lord Middleton was commissioner, and forfeited), being restored by the king's majesty Charles the Second, to all his lands and sums of money addebted to him, as also to the title of earle, (by which restoration and new gift of the king, and that at the intercession, and by the moyen of the king's great minion and favourit the Lord Duke of Laderdale, the said earle was free of payment of his father's debts, and yet had right to debts owing to his father), pursues in a legal way the Laird of M'Lean for severall sums of money he was resting and indebted to his father; obtains decreets before the Lords of the Session against the said M'Lean, comprysing his lands, and followes every thing legally against him.

The said Laird of M'Lean dyes, and leaves a son behind him, and his brother tutor to him, who being required by the said earle to pay the sums indebted to his father, and now to him, he replied he wold be willing to do it, providing he wold come to a just account; for he alledged that his father did accumulate these summs by buying in some of his predecessor's bonds, and keeping them up till their annual rents amounted to great summs, and withall, that he wold give him als much of his lands as wold pay his annual rents, viz. of his Isle of Mull and of Tirrie, or pledge or sell off as much of his lands to him as wold pay the summ.

This offer, as its supposed, the Earle of Argile wold have accepted, but the tutor of M'Lean, with the rest of his name, made shifts and delays, and did nothing; whereupon the said earle, having the law of the nation on his side, in the year 1674, goes in with a considerable number of his friends, gentlemen of his own name, vassals and tenants, to the number of 2000, to the Isle of Mull, to reduce them to order, and payment of his sums. These of the name of M'Lean, to the number of 7 or 800 men, consisting of that name, the friends and followers, intended to resist and oppose the said erle's forces. But he besetting the isle with ships and bootts, enters at three severall places; at one place whereof the Lord Niell, the said erle's brother, lights upon the cows, which the Highlanders had driven to that place for safety, and caused cutt down, and hogh a considerable number of them, which occasioned a great cry by the women and children keeping them, and running to their husbands and friends to acquaint them how it stood; whereupon the ilanders being amazed, fainted, and came to a composition of the matter. The earle gets the Castle of Duart in his own hand, and manns it for himself. They all yield and submitt, and promise payment and subjection to the said earle. This done, the earle leaves the island in as good order as for the time he could, and moves home with his

friends. Next yeir, 1675, sending to exact of them his due, they refuse to pay, and breaks commouning. On this occasion, in September 1675, he conveens all his friends as before, gets an order fra the king's councell for an 100 of the king's soldiers, then laying at Glasgow, under command of Captain Crichton, to assist him; ane order also for an 100 of militia men, under the command of Andrew M'Farlan, the Laird of M'Farlan, their captane; so that, what with his friends and followers, his vassals and tenants, the militia of that country, and those of the low countrie that went to his assistance, his forces amounted to the number of 1500 men; with all these he resolved to goe in to the Isle of Mull, seeking to reduce them, and to bring them in subjection. But before this tyme the M'Leans had strenthned themselves with the assistance of the Lord Macdonald, *alias* Glengary, who assisted them with 6 or 700 men, and with the assistance of M'Ldowi, *alias* Lochaber, and of Lochbowy M'Lean, who assisted them with 500 men. These all joyned with Brolloes, the tutor of M'Lean, and made in wholl to the number of a 1000 and 800 men; some say 2000 and 500 men.

At this tyme doth Lord Neil Campbell, brother to the Earle of Argile, set into Mull to take it in possession for his brother, with his ships and birlins, on the 20th and 21st of September 1675. But there arose so great a storm these two days, that the ships and birlins, wherein he took his men, were forced back, and sorely dismantled, the great mast of the ship broken, the fall whereof broke the forship, and the birlings exceedingly shattered, that they were rendered useless till repaired again; all the men were preserved alive very providentially. That storm was so great that it was over all the land, and, indeed, it was a hurricane; for great oaks were blown up by the roots, and laid over at Rosedoe by twos and threes; great old trees of 200 years standing broken in the midst there; some lesser trees broken in the midst, and the tops caryed a great way off

with the force of the wind, where they fell, to great admiration which I did see. The corns up and down the land not cut down were so shacken, that the people gott little more than straw to cut down. A rumor went that there was a witch-wife named Mud-dock had promised to the M'Lains, that, so long as she lived, the Earle of Argile should not enter Mull; and, indeed, many of the people imputed the rise of that great storme unto her paction with the devil, how true I cannot assert. This done, the Earle of Argile has nottice of the strength of the M'Lains within the isle from Captain Creighton, who, with his 100 men of trained bands, was within the castle of that isle; whereupon the earle finds his forces too feu for that number of his opposers, and dismisses them all for the time, excepting 500 men to keep the coasts of the main land, and 3 or 400 to keep the heads, for fear of the incursion of his enemies upon his own lands or the inlands; and appoints them all to meet again October 18th next, unless he should 'twixt and that time countermand it. Meantime he posts in to Edinburgh to acquaint the king's counsell therewith, and to seek their counsell and assistance against the forces raised by the M'Lains. But finding not that assistance he expected, he takes post for London to deal with his great friend the Duke of Laderdale, that he might deal with his majesty to cause suppress them. Meantime the Lord Macdonald, and other friends of the M'Lains, go for London, and have access to the king, so that business is entirely laid before the king by both parties, and they heard the sitting of the English parliament delayed them much. M'Coul of Lorn, being dispossessed of his inheritance by Lorn, did last year side with the M'Lains; but the earle having agreed at him, gives him in lieu of what he took from him in the Isle of Corara, whereupon he takes part with him against the M'Lains.

October 13th, the House of Commons absolutely refuse to give the

king any subsidy to pay his debt; but are content to build him twenty frigotts; and there was a debate whether that money for the shipes should be put in his exchequer, yet its carryed it should.

Bishop Burnet of Glasgow went for court at this tyme, some say to agent the affairs of the church, others think to keep the bishops of Ingland fixed for Laderdaill, for he had moyan with them.

Mr Andrew Cant is reponed by his acknowledgment by the bishop of St Andrews, and is made principall of Edinburgh College; so is Mr Hamilton at Leith also reponed upon the same acknowledgment. Mr Turner and Mr Robison as yet scruple to sign the acknowledgment, but at length did it, and were reponed.

This yeir, 1675, had a very hott summer, and a good harvest, except two windy dayes in September, whereby much corn was shaken; the victuall remaining dear notwithstanding, becaus all the old victuall was spent. The end of November, and beginning of December of this year was very warm, many people fall sick and die; the astma, or coch, or cold, with a feavor, turns the epidemick disease in toun and country, whereof many dyes, and of feavors moe dye than was observed in other yeirs before.

December 1675, is the English parliament then sitting adjourned for 14 months; they granted the king no subsidy (which was the main thing they were convened for,) but what was his due, viz. the poll-money for outrigging his navie. The members of parliament take in ill part their frequent adjournments.

November —75, is the Duchess of Portsmouth's son made Duke of Lennox, when about five years of age; for then the Duke of Lennox race is so far run out, that the king is *ultimus hæres*, and now his natural son is created Duke of Lennox.*

* The last of the illustrious family of Lennox was Charles Stewart, Duke of Lennox and Richmond, who married La Belle Stewart, so much celebrated by Count An-

January 1676, an order comes down from the king's majesty to disband all the new levied horse and foot against the 15th of that instant, which accordingly was done, so that now none are kept on foot save the king's troop, the chancelor's, and Lord Lithgow's regiment.

The king, by proclamation, discharges all coffie-houses. The French and Dutch captains are bussie levying men at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other parts, for the warr next summer.

January 13, 1676, there was a great fire in Edinburgh; it began at the heid of the Kirk Hoich, in a stationer's shop, he loutting down with a candle among louse papers, fyred them so as he could not quench it, and burnt all that syd as ye go in to the Parliament House, on the left hand, and on the foregate down near to the Cross. The Lord Advocat Sir John Nisbit's house was burnt, and several other considerable houses.*

January, 1676, Mr Mitchell, of whom it was alledged that it was he that shutt at the Bishop of St Andrews, and missing him, hurt the Bishop of Orcad; he was long in prison upon this alledgeance, and was put in the boots at the instigation of the said Bishop Sharp of St Andrews, but confest nothing, induring with much patience his torture. When it was reported that he was to be tortured in the other legg, some, it seems of his friends, drop in a letter to Archbishop Sharp of St Andrews, assuring him, that if he persisted in the

thony Hamilton. He died at Elsineur in December 1672, without issue. Wood, in his Diary, gives the following character of him:—"The Duke was a most rude and debauched person, kept sordid company; and having employed a little crooked-backed taylor of Oxon, named ——— Herne, he would often drink with him, quarrel, and the taylor being too hard for him, would get him downe and bite his eare."

* December 1675, the advocates were reponed, notwithstanding of all the former menaces to the contrary.—*Note by the Author.*

torturing of him, he should have a shott from a steddier hand ; whereupon he was let alone, but was still kept in prison.

February 1676, great severity is used with those that keep conventicles ; many of them are put in prison and lay long, and some of them sent to the French warr ; yet collections being gathered among the people of the land for their relieff, they give money to their captains, and so getts them off when they are sett upon the French shore.

About this tyme was a voice heard at London in the air, about the midle of the night,—“ Lamentable murder, murder, murder !” This was reported by two gentlemen of the king’s guard, who were that night upon the watch, and were ear-witnesses of it. A little afore this tyme there is a Quaker about London who gave out himself to be the Messias ; and to give proof thereof, would fast 40 days, as he pretended. When he had fasted two of the 40, he was deservedly smitten of God for his blasphemie with an unsatiable hunger, so that he eat raw flesh of swine, the intrails of beasts, deid dogs and horse ; and yet eat what he wills, is never satisfied. This he did also before the king, who desired to see him eat, which I had from an eye-witness. The Quakers hearing of it, beginn to deny he was a Quaker, though he was one indeed.*

* For a very incredible account of a human cormorant, afflicted with insatiable hunger, see “ The Great Eater, or part of the admirable Teeth and Stomachs Exploits of Nicholas Wood, of Harrison, in the County of Kent ; his excessive manner of eating without manners, in strange and true manner described by John Taylor, the Water Poet.”

“ Two loynes of mutton,” says his biographer, “ and one loyne of veale, were but as three sprats to him. Once at Sir Warham Saint Leiger’s house, and at Sir William Sydleyes, he shewed himself so violent of teeth and stomache, that hee ate as much as would well have served and sufficed thirty men, so that his belly was like to turne bankrupt and breake, but that the serving-man turned him to the fire and

The end of December last, Duke Hamilton goes to court, not being sent for by the king nor by Lauderdale. The animosities 'twixt the two dukes yet continuing, Duke Hamilton, in a conference with the king, pleads that the Presbyterians in Scotland may have as great a latitude allowed them for preaching of the gospel in Scotland as they of their persuasion have in England. His majesty replies, that he thought the indulgence he had already granted to Scotland should have made them peaceable and thankfull, but seeing it produces contrary effects, he wold take another course to make them subject, will they nill they; but as for an ampler indulgence than already they have, they need not expect. The king having received some misinformation anent the indulged brethren, is thus irritat, whereas in very truth the indulgence made not only

anoynted his paunch with greace and butter, to make it stretch and hold; and afterwards being layed in bed, he slept eight houres, and fasted all the while; which, when the knight understood, he commanded him to be laid in the stocks, and there to endure as long time as he had laine bedrid with eating."

The Duke of Lauderdale is said by the Presbyterians to have become a prodigious eater towards the conclusion of his life. "He became such a remarkable epicurean, that it is incredible the flesh, or juice of flesh, it is said he devoured in one day, eating and drinking being now his only exercise and delight."—*God's Justice exemplified in his Judgements upon Persecutors*. It was reported that he consumed a whole sheep daily. Walker, in his *Life of Donald Cargill*, gives a strange account of a sort of hungry disease which accompanied the scarcity of victuals in Scotland, anno 1694: "Many had cleanness of teeth in our cities, and want of bread in our borders; and to some the staff of bread was so utterly broken, (which makes complete famine) that they did eat, and were neither satisfied nor nourished; and some of them said to me, that they could mind nothing but meat, and were nothing bettered by it; and that they were utterly unconcerned about their souls whether they went to heaven or hell." An ancient song, probably of English growth, respecting a voracious lady, who laboured under enchantment, and was most unreasonable in other respects, is to be found in Jamieson's *Ballads*, Vol. II. p. 194.

these ministers peaceable, but also those congregations that had the benefit of their ministry; and in effect, that which was displeasing in it was, that the indulgence was not extended, and that all the outed ministers had not the lyke favour shoven them; and the truth is, the Duke of Laderdaill being so great a favourite of the king, and having taken such a dislyk at Duke Hamilton for the opposition he and his party made him the last parliament, that there is nothing Duke Hamilton will be for but he will be against.

February 1676, the business betwixt Argyle and the M'Lanes is referred to three lords of the privie counsell to determine.

February 24. The Lord Atholl comes from London to Edinburgh, now is made marquiss, and attended with a princely train into the city, with an order to be lord treasurer; Argyle and Kin-carne are put off the treasurie, and my Lord Kinghorn and Ross comes in their rooms. Lord Gossford, Castlehill, and Newbeeth, are put off the session. Sir John Keith is made a privy counsellor. My Lord Aboyne, hitherto Papist, declared himself a Protestant upon his knees the other night, before the king's counsell, and is admitted a counsellor and livetenant of the king's troops.* The Chancellor Rothes' troop is reduced, he not knowing of it till the king's letter was produced for it.

Livetenant-Generall Drummond, that had been prisoner in Dumbarton Castle near two yeirs, is sett at libertie by the king's order, without the mediation of any for him. My Lord Cardross, prisoner at Edinburgh Castle, is appoynted to be sett at libertie upon payment of his fyne of 20,000 merks, and finding bond to keep the peace.

* "The Earl of Aboyne died in December 1680. He was of great natural parts, a good poet, was popish, but made a faint profession of protestantism."—LORD FOUNTAINHALL'S MSS. *Diary*.

The Laird of Polwart, prisoner at Stirling, is also sett at liberty, and never to carry any office in the nation.

March 1676, a proclamation at the Cross of Edinburgh against Popish meetings, Quakers' meetings, and conventicles, and all such as keep them in houses, or frequent them, or have them within their land, are to be severly fyn'd; as also against all schoolmasters, chaplans, and tutours to gentlemen or noblemen's children, that will not accept of their licence from their ordinarie; such as keep any such servants are to be fyned; whereupon many were turned off fra service. The town of Edinburgh is fyn'd in 200 lib. sterling for conventicles kept in it.

18th March, 1676, dyed Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, at Edinburgh, of a yellow jaundice and hydropsie. His mother was a daughter of Montrose's, then earle, a gentleman of a good disposition, without gall and revenge, allways mercifull and loving peace; of a noble generous spirit, very affable and courteous to all, so that he engadged the hearts of all to him. He was well accomplisht, a good linguist, and of a notable behaviour; a desirable person, having an amiable sweet face, and a comely princely gesture. He was married to the eldest daughter of Sir Gideon Baylie of Lochend, being then very young, of a 11 yeirs of age, but soon come to be rype in witt, and a very vertuous and accomplisht gentlewoman; a pattern for temperance and modesty, and an exact instructor of her children, who, at his death, were one son, a youth of good expectation, far beyond others of his age, and seven daughters, the eldest whereof, Mrs Lillias, was married to the Laird of Keir, a little before her father's death, a gentlewoman of great expectation also.*

* In the year 1633, Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, father of Sir John mentioned in the text, was prosecuted in the criminal court of Edinburgh for witchcraft, which, by the

Aprile 1676, did a committee of the king's counsell sitt at Glasgow, to witt, the Lord Ross, Lord Elphinstoun, and Archbishop

help of one Carlips, a German necromancer, and servant to the said Laird of Luss, he practised upon his sister-in-law, Lady Catharine Grahame. The principal charm was contained in a jewel of gold, set with diamonds and rubies.—See KIRKTON's *History*, p. 214, note. Kirkton himself informs us, that the Duke of Rothes, who in general seems not to have been superstitiously given, at one time imagined the violent attachment which bound him to Lady Anne Gordon was produced by supernatural means. "One day, being under the dint of his own conviction, and reflecting upon his misbehaviour toward his worthy lady, (whom he could not but admire) he threw all the wretched love-tokens his miss had given him into the fire, upon suspicion and fear he was detained her captive by the power of witchcraft, as many said he was." The unfortunate Duke of Monmouth was supposed to be thus spell-bound to Lady Henrietta Wentworth, whose age and personal beauty were deemed (at least by Aphra Behn,) inadequate to inspire such love and constancy, without the direct aid of Asmodeus. The charm was lodged in a golden toothpick-case, presented to the duke by Lady Henrietta, and never relinquished till he concluded the last scene of his romantic tragedy on the scaffold at Towerhill, when he gave it to his servant to be returned to the enchantress, who died of a broken heart within a twelvemonth after the execution of her lover.—Vide *Love-Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister*, by MRS BEHN—*Account of the Execution of the Duke of Monmouth*, 1685. In the Criminal Records of Scotland, besides the indictment of Sir John Colquhoun, two very atrocious cases respecting the use of what were called love-philtres, are to be found. The first is in the volume of the year 1601. "On the 27th of May, Hay of Kirkland, Blair of Megginch, and six other gentlemen, are delaytit of wilfull error in acquitting of David Roy, cuick to Eviot of Balhousie. The pannells came in the king's will, and his majestie signified his will by his warrant this day, drect to the justices, that they pay the particular sowms mentioned in the said warrand, to witt,—some the sum of 500 merks, and others 300 merks, and some 200 merks, to the Lord Treasurer, for his Highness' use. The processe had been before the Sheriff of Perth, and the said David Roy was accused of very atrocious crymes, viz. that he had used abominable sorceries, charms, and witchcraft, to induce his master's daughter, Elizabeth Eviot, to yelde to his addresses, by means that are hardlie to be heard by Christian ears, &c.; and also he consulted with an apothecary, and ane Bannantyne, ane notorious witch, how to bring about his devillish designs, and by their means, and likewise by force, &c., who being

Burnet, of Glasgow, and conveyened before them Sir Archibald Stewart of Castlemilk; James Hamilton of Akinhead; Alexander

accused before the Sheriff of Perth, as said is, he did judicially confess the said facts, notwithstanding whereof the said persons an assize did acquit the said David Roy, as above."—*Abbreviat of the Register of Justiciary, M.S.* In this case, the philtre used by Roy is too horrible to be mentioned or conceived. The other case is thus abridged by Lord Fountainhall, in one of his MSS.:—"4th September, 1654. Foulls of Revilston, and Jean Sinclair, his ladie, against Andro Hill, musician, for the rapt of Marion Foulls, a pupill, not 12 years old, their daughter. The summe of the dittay is as follows: Though by the common law and practique of this kingdome, the rapt of virgins or gentlewomen in *familia* or *potestate paterna*, either by violence or force, or by intygements and sinister practices, or by seducing them to go away fra their parents or their family, or to stay, converse, or go about under culler and profession of a pretended marriage with these who had solicited or ensnared them, without the consent or knowledge of their parents or friends, *sive volentibus sive nolentibus virginibus*, is a most haynous cryme, and in all the best governed nations punisht by death but mercy; speciallie when the same is perpetrated upon occasion of trust, or by tutors, preceptors, or such who are entrusted with the instruction of young women, and so hes opportunity to seduce them; and on these who are of ingenious birth and breeding, and of a age within 21, and are of untainted fame and reputation, and by one of a mean and servil condition; By the 80th act, 6th parliament King James V., &c. the cryme of counterfiting and using false writs is punishable by death; though by the common law and ours, *mutatio nominis*, in order to a sinister and wicked course, and to the effect these who changes their names, and assumes false names and designations, may prosecut and cover their wickednes be a great imposter, and punisheable capitallie; Though by the 73d act, 9th parliament II. Marie, all maner of witchcraft is prohibit, under the pain of death, yet the pannel hes grosslie contraveined all these laws; for being Ravelston's servant, and in his house, conduced of purpose to wait on his children, and to teach them musick, he most perfidiously abused his trust, and seduced, abused, deboshed, corrupted, and entyced the said Marion, taking advantage of her non-age and of his trust, and prevailed so far on hir childishness and weaknes, that on night, being late, she went away with the said pannell, without the knowledge or consent of her parents, he intending to marie hir; and for that devillish purpose he carried hir into England, but was overtane neir the borders and brought back. Next, for preventing all hazard of being questioned, he forged a false testificat, as if it had

Wardrop of Damarnock, Laird of Westburn ; and — Hamilton of Nielstoun ; Mr Ninian Hill of Lambhill ; Mathew Cuming,

been subscriv'd by Mr Jo. Paterson, minister at Allane, witnessing them to be lawfullie married, his name to be Gordon, and hers to be Oswald, and their parents to have bein most honest persons of such names, and living in such and such parts, &c.; all which was most false, and was all done by the pannell himselfe. Item, he used sorceries and inchantments, vid. roots and hearbes, and others philters, with which he boasted he could gain the affection of any woman he pleased, and force them to follow him, and which he used towards the said Marion, and which were found upon him when he was apprehended. In respect of all, he ought to be punished to death. Continued.—At this tyme, Andro Hill, aforesaid, is put to an assize ; he is found guilty of the treacherous prostituting of his master's daughter, and so betraying his trust ; also of the fraudulent entysing and seducing of hir from hir father's house and family ; clenges him of the rapt of the said Marion ; all fyles him of forging a testificat falslie ; and all but one fyles him of the using it ; all fylles him of changing his name in the said testimonial, and by the way as he travelled with the gentlewoman ; all clenges him of sorcerie ; but by the witnesses depositions finds he has been a foolish boaster of his skill in hearbs and roots for captivating women, but does not find wheir he used the same. Dome continued against him. *Nota*, During the tyme of 15 dayes tane by the judges to advise on his doome, he was eaten of vermine in prison, and so died."

The fate of this wicked musician was afterwards very nearly paralleled by that of Dr Wisheart, subsequently Bishop of Edinburgh, who, while imprisoned for his loyalty to King Charles, was attacked by rats, and almost devoured. See Heylin's *Cosmog.* for the legend of Hatto, Archbishop of Mentz, who was destroyed by rats for starving the poor ; and of the Polish royal family, who suffered a like visitation because they poisoned some rebellious lords, from whose dead carcasses, after they were thrown into a pond or river, innumerable rats and mice issued forth. These aggressions of vermin will remind the Scottish ballad-reader of the tender Princess Isabel's distress, on first beholding her lover, after his long confinement in the dungeons of the King of France :—

" And when she saw him, young Beckie,

Wow, but her heart was sair !

For the mice but and the bald rattons

Had eaten his yellow hair."

merchant in Glasgow; Hew Corbett of Hardgray; for hearing of outed presbyterian ministers; some whereof were intercommuned by the Stats; and becaus they would not give bond not to hear any outed ministers any more, and to keep the kirk, were imprisoned in Glasgow tolbooth, where they remained till the last of June, on which day they were taken away with a guard of the king's troop to Edinburgh tolbuith, and then appeared before the king's counsell, July 21st, and were fyned by them for keeping conventicles. Sir Archibald Stewart of Castlemilk was dismist upon bond to compear when called for; Aikinheid was fyned in 2500 merks; Westburn in 300 lib.; Nielsland in a 1000 merks; Hardgray in a 1000 merks; Mr Ninian Hill in a 1000 merks; Alexander Wardrop in 50 merks; and Mathew Cuming in 300 merks; and two other merchants in Edinburgh in 2500 merks, and were to keep the tolbooth till they paid it, or give bond for it. Nothing done to Pollock Maxwell nor Torrense. Some others were summoned, sic as Mr Hugh Smith; Mr John Spreull, wrytter; John Johnstone, merchant; John Drew, merchant; John Stirling, merchant; Culbert Campbell, merchant; and severall others that did not compeir, for which they were denounced, and put to the horn, and letters of caption raised against them, and sought after.

It was one of the unwary expressions of Pierson, the minister of Carsphairn, murdered in the year 1685, that he *feared none of the Whigs, nor any thing else but rats and mice.*—WODROW'S *Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. II. p. 467. By the way, John Baptista Porta gives a strange reason why mice should abound more on shipboard than in other places. Talking of the fruitful properties of salt, he says, "ships in the sea, as Plutarch witnesseth, are always full of an innumerable company of mice; and some affirm that *female mice will breed alone only by licking salt*; and fishwives do alwayes breed plenty of children. Hence the poets feigned Venus to be born of salt, or the sea."—*Natural Magick*, Book VIII.

June 1676, there was a great fire in London beyond the bridge, kindled at 10 o'clock at night, and burnt till 10 of the clock of the next morning, in which tyme 600 closses are burned ; its reported that this fire and the other last great fire was kindled by the papists, and all England was in great fear of them at this last fyre ; there was about 150 persons killed with the fire, and falls of houses.

June 1676, at Pasley, betwixt 11 and 12 at night, was seen by one man and four women a great fire from the heavens, and after that a sword in the air over above the tolbooth, moving here and there, which did much amase the beholders. They being examined by the minister and one of the bailies of that town, did depone upon oath that they saw it.

June 1676. In its beginning falls out a great snow at Edinburgh in the Grass-mercat ; another tyme the thunder lighted on the Castle-hill, making a great hollow in the ground ; another day, great haill quadrangled of great bigness fell in Dumbarton moor, so that these that then were casting turf were forced to cover their heads with turf, they were so affraid of being killed by it ; at which time a man with a horse was killed with the thunder at Barscuib in Inshminnan.

June 1676, did the Earle of Argile arryve at Edinburgh fra London, and represent his business with the M'Leans before the king's councell. He charged the Laird of M'Lean with 500,000 merks, and prosecut them for a riot, in opposing the king's laws. When he went in to take possession of Mull, they opposed him by force of arms. The councel could not fall upon a way to agree them, therefore for the time he desisted.

May 1676, De Ruter with a squad of ships fought with a squad of Frenches at Sicily, and overcomes them ; but lost his life in that conflict, for he was shott in the leg, whereby it was broken, and so he falling, getts a deidly wound in the heid, whereof he dyed. Thus

fell the greatest sea-captain in the world of this tyme, to the great encouragement of his enemies, and great discouragement of the Dutch. He was a sound protestant and a good man.

May and June 1676, the French sent forth their forces horse and foot, exceeding the number of a 100,000; and the States of Holland, with their confederats the Imperialists, Prince of Orange, and King of Spain's forces, sett out also their armies, above an 100,000; all go to the field this summer.

August 1676. These of New Inland that had planted that part of America, are grievously troubled by the natives, who make inroads upon the plantations, and kill many of the English, having by their slaves (that were with the English, and fled in to them again) learned the art of shooting gunns, purchasing out of France and Holland guns, swords, and pycks, make them much adoe, and great trouble, so that some were necessitat to shift for themselves in other parts of the world. The truth is, the protestants in all parts of the world suffer in thir sad tymes. The origin of these in New England went from England in the days of Queen Mary of England, when the persecution against the protestants was raised there, and in the days of Queen Elizabeth, her successor, a protestant, was well supplied with men and other necessities to make good that plantation. They were well furnished with able ministers, and quickly grew up to a famous and glorious church. Their church government was, and is yet independent, and of their state is aristocracie. They refused to own the King of Brittain as their king; only, in commemoration of their coming out of England, they now and then send him a gift.

July 9th —76, a star was seen at 12 hours of the day by a great companie of people met for sermon on Gargunnock hills the Sabbath-day, and that when the sun was bright shining. The lyke was

seen in summer 1667, at 2 hours post m., the sun shining clear at Edinburgh.*

July 1676, the Prince of Orange and Imperialists besiege Mاستrick in Flanders, many Frenches that were in it being killed ; and Philipsburg was also besieged by them. The Prince of Orange was shott in the arm.

* A very wonderful vision is recorded in the MS. memoirs of the Rev. Mr Blackadder, as having been seen during the dispersion of a field-conventicle, held in the year 1674.

“ There was a meeting on Lomond hills, where Mr John Wallwood, a young man, but grave and pious, and of a good understanding, preached to the meeting ; there came a party of the life-guards, commanded, as I heard, by Adam Masterton of Grange, younger ; the meeting was on the hill ; the troopers essayed to ride up to them, I suppose between sermons ; the people stood on the face of the brae, and the soldiers shot bullets among the people, with carabins and pistells, and, as I heard, charged five or six several times ; but though the ball lighted among men, women, and children, and went through some of their hair, and brake upon stones beside them, yet hurt none, which was observed as a wonder to all present ; the soldiers seeing the people stand still, and not stir, were forced to retire, (some of them had their horses hurt with the stones cast down from the hill), and sent to call some of the people to capitulate with, desiring them to dismiss. The people answered, they were not to stay any longer than the public worship was ended ; they told them also, they could not leave the hill till they had security to get no harm from them, which they did promise, but this was kept as many other of that sort ; for, after the bulk of the people were gone, the troopers fell on the hindermost, plundering and stripping them, and apprehended about 18 prisoners. It was affirmed by some women who stayed at home, that they clearly perceived as the form of a tall man, majestick like, stand in the air, in stately posture, with the one leg as it were advanced before the other, standing above the people all the time of the soldiers' shooting. The wrytter hearing of this afterward, did write to ane honest man in that country to send him notice of the certainty of that vision, and the above said relation was returned in write to him, under honest mens' hands, whom he knew, and more than is here ; but the women knew not of the soldiers' onset till the folk came home, to whom they told the vision that severall of them had seen all the time.”

July 1676, Duke Hamilton, Earl of Morton, Lord Dumfries, Lord Kincarn, the Clerk-Register Primrose, &c. are all put off the king's counsell, so great a change in other things, and in that also, did Laderdaill make in removing all them fra publick trust, that were opposit to him in the least, and did not comply with him in all his designs.

September 1676, the siege of Mastrick is raised; the Prince of Orange not getting his intent, then leaves the camp, and comes to Holland. Much blood was spilt at that siege on both parts; there was slain, as they say, to the number of 10,000. The governour held out wonderfully, countermyning every myn that's made, and was richly rewarded by the King of France.—October next, was Philipsburg surrendered to the Imperialists, after a long siege. No more action this summer 'twixt the confederats and French, who go to their winter-quarters.

August and September, 1676. Some soldiers, horse and foot, are sent to St Andrews, and the shyre of Fyfe, to ly and quash the conventicles kept there so publickly in the fields. There are three men, Captane Carstairs, Pomil Craford, and Provost Mayn, that search after ministers, and these they take are sent to the Bass to prison, as Mr Foster, an old minister, taken by 12; and Captain Carstairs was made prisoner in the Bass, without hearing. Ane other, Mr William Bell, an expectant, was taken in Lothian, and was sentenced to the Bass, and sent there; and much it was that they were not condemned to death, according to the act of parliament, for keeping field-meetings. The Laird of Gerreswood, Baily to his name, was made prisoner in the Castle of Stirling, and fyn'd in 10,000 lib., for offering to relieve his good-brother, Mr Kirktown, minister in Mertoun, in Tivydale, out of the hands of Captain Carstairs, who finding him in the streets, trips up to his chamber, and thought to make him prisoner. But Jerreswood coming in the mean tyme, re-

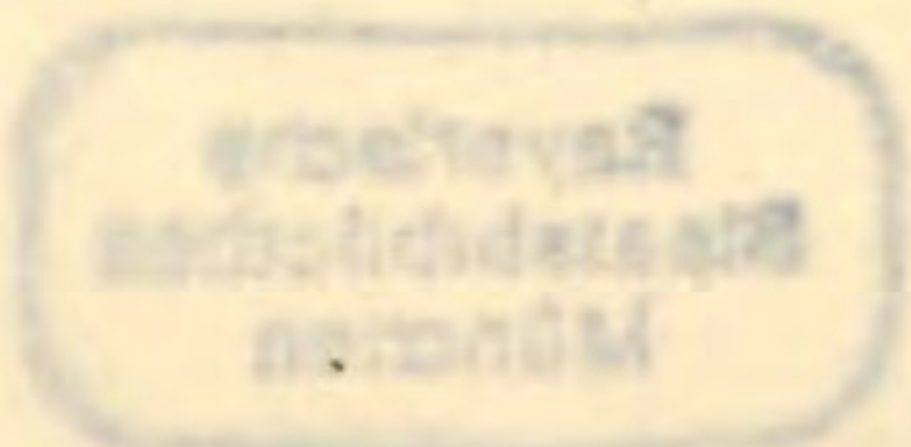
N



lieves him, so that he fled out of the country ; and other ministers that were in hazard, sic as Mr Moncrieff, and others, fly into Ingland.* The meetings in Fife were much suppressed ; yet at the

* The genuine account of Kirkton's rescue, which is not accurately stated by contemporary writers, will be found in his own history. Mr Baillie was afterwards executed for treason, with circumstances of great rigour. Lord Fountainhall, in his MS. Diary, gives the following account of the proceedings against him, and his execution :—

“ Mr Robert Baillie of Jerviswood was tryed ; being brought, 23d December, 1684, to the Justice Court, and pannelled as art and part of the plot of joining with the malecontents in England, viz. Shaftesbury, Lord Russel, &c. to perswad or force the king to redress their grievances, call a parliament, and pass the bill of seclusion against Duke of York, for securing the protestant religion, and carrying on this rebellious design of rying with England under a pretence of a Carolina company, and for his knowledge and accession thereto, and concealed the same ; and also was ane agent for getting 10,000 lib. Sterling from English to Argyle in Holland, to buy armes and horses to Argyle in Holland to land in the west of Scotland. The advocat got a warrand for Sir George Lockhart and Lauder of Fountainhall, to concur with him in the pursutes upon their alledgeance ; and warrand was given to Sir Patrick Hume, Mr Walter Pringle, Mr James Grame, Mr William Fletcher, and Mr William Baillie, for the pannell. The assyze was inclosed at 12 at night, and sat till 3 in the morning, and he was sentenced to be hanged betwixt 2 and 4 in the afternoon, being 24th December. He complained of the shortness of time, yet carried very composedly. His father was son of Baillie of St John's kirk, a cadite of Laminton. He huffed a little (being a huffy proud man) that he should be esteemed guilty of any design against the life of the king or his brother, whereof he purged himself as he hoped for mercy, and denied any design of subverting monarchy, only he wished redress of grievances ; but offered not to purge himself of the rest of the inditement, which was a tacite confession. All seemed to be convinced that he had tampered in dangerous proposals for rectification of grievances, by putting his majestie under force to yield to their demands, if they could not obtain it with fairness. He complained of the Earle of Taras, that, to save himself, had lyes against him. He said Mr Robert Martin was sent down to Scotland to stop a rying ; but at his returning, reports he found them in such a temper, that very little would kindle the fire. His marrying Sir Archibald Jonston of Warristoun, that arch traytor, his daughter, first alienat his mind from the govern-



same time they were very publick about Glasgow, and that in great numbers in the fields in Clidsdale, Baronthrow, and Dumbartonshyre. Many are intercommuned, both ministers and others; many are denounced and put to the king's horn for keeping conventicles; very sober men as was in our church, fall under the lash of the law; so that the tymes were very grievous and sad.

This yeir many sad things fall out; sins committed; self-murder committed by severalls, both men and women. One hanged him-

ment; and thereafter, having rescued his brother-in-law, Mr James Kirkton, a presbyterian minister, fra Captain Carstairs, (by drawing his sword) was fined 1000 lib. Sterling, and imprisoned; but his fine remitted. He dyed regretted by many, and with much resolution; yet, though he was huffie and proud, the Lord Cranston being jealous of him for lying with his lady, he hectorred and battoned him. The Lady Graden, sister-daughter of Warristoun's, his sister-in-law, with a more than masculine courage, attended him on the scaffold till he was quartered, and went with the hangman, and saw his quarters sodden, oyled, for they were ordained to be put up on the tolbooths of Jedburgh, Lanark, Air, and Glasgow, and his head on the Nether-bow port. There was a speech emitted of his before his execution, and it was professed to his friends, if they would deliver up the heall copies thereof, they should get liberty to burry his bodie. He was brought down in a ship with many other traytors, 14th November, 1684."—See a full account of his trial, FOUNTAINHALL'S *Decisions*, vol. i. p. 326.—That Mr Baillie was a man of true courage, the tenor of his life, and his behaviour at the trying hour of death, overwhelmed as he was with multiplied calamities, sufficiently prove; and, therefore, Lord Fountainhall is not to be credited in his assertions respecting the quarrel with Lord Cranston; an anecdote which he probably picked up, as he sometimes, though rarely, seems to have done, from the party-gossip of an age replete with vindictive spite, and every species of falsehood.—Wodrow, whose account of Jerviswood's misfortunes is very well worth reading, says, that Lady Graden and his wife shared his tedious imprisonment; and that he was so feeble, when called up to trial, as scarcely to be able to stand. He appeared at the bar in his night-gown; and was carried in that dress, and in a chair, to the scaffold, where he required help to ascend the ladder.—“Their spite against his body,” adds Wodrow, “was very great; and I am told the quarters of it lay in the Thieves-hole for three weeks, before they were placed as in the sentence.”

self in the Tolbuith of Air, with his own ribbans that tied his sleeves, and was gotten hanging with his hands bound down, none being in the room but himself, which gives ground to think that the divill personally helps to that unnatural murder, when consented to. A woman in the parish of Munkland cutt her throat, so that her drink came out at the wound, and by plaisters apply'd, the orifice was cured and shu'd; and by prayer made to God in her behalf, with conference used with her, (I was one myself that prayed for her, conferred with her, and exhorted her,) she was brought to a remorse for her sin, and was delyvered from that tentation, and lived after that. I have observed in my own observation, that those that are tempted unto this unnaturall sin of self-murder, are ordinarily tempted of the divill to it from either of these grounds: 1. He takes occasion of discontent betwixt near relations, sic as husband and wife, to tempt to it, whereas we should study to be content in every condition of life. 2. He tempts to this sin, and takes occasion thereunto from the fears of want and craking credit, carking cares, and distrust of divine Providence. 3. From some horror of conscience aggreging their sin, and making them despair of mercy. Upon conference with severalls that have been tempted to this sin, I have found the temptation arise from these grounds; to say nothing of a sullen melancholyk humour that is natural to folk, which is dangerous where it abounds, if grace prevent not, who, from fear of a shamefull death, as Cato and others.*—

* "A pious credible woman, yet living in London, lately told me oftymes, being sometime under temptation by some discontent of mind, one day as she passed through a room at mid-day, the devil stood before her in the shape of a big black man, and pointed to the top of the door, tempting her there to hang herself; and so stood near a quarter of an hour, and then vanished away; which was so far from dismaying her, that it much confirmed her against unbelief, and her temptations. Any one that will go to her here in London, may have her credible and confident report of it."—BAX.

This year, 1676, Mr Hinniman, professor of divinity at St Andrews, was cut off by a strange death. At the first, when the bishops took place in Scotland in the year 1662, he declared himself much against them, yet afterward he inclined to that syd, and was made bishop of Orkney; and being in his house there, he goes up on night to his chamber, where he was heard to make a noise and din upon the floor; and when his wife caused break up the door, for it was bolted, he was found lying on the floor, his hat cast to one place, and his cap he used on his heid to another place of the chamber, and his gown about him torn in peeces. His wife caused bring him down, and laid him in another room upon a bed, where he expressed himself thus, Something came between me and my light; and in a few dayes he dyed languishing. Oh! its a dangerous thing to sin against light.*

TER'S *Certainty of the World of Spirits*.—The Scottish vulgar believe to this day, that the union of the two kingdoms gave Satan irresistible power of temptation, as to suicide, over some of its chief promoters; indeed, Lord Fountainhall himself, in his MS. Diary, describes Lord Stair as "that arch traytor, Sir John Dalrymple, who was *felo de se* the very same night he had a great hand in closing the hellish union of the two kingdoms in 1707."—And a like scandal, as appears from some MS. lampoons still extant, was raised against the Earl of Seafield, Chancellor of Scotland, who, on adjourning the parliament after the Union, merrily observed, "There is ane end of ane auld sang!"—*A Short History of the Revolution in Scotland, in a Letter to a Friend at London*.

* Andrew Honyman, minister at St Andrews, not only became an apostate from the Solemn League and Covenant after the Restoration, but despited his old sect, by publishing a treatise called, "The Reasonable Case and Survey of Napthali," a tedious response to a foolish book. Lamont, in his Diary, tells us,—"1662, Oct. 2. Mr Andro Hinnymman, minister of St Andrews, was admitted, by the Archbishope there, Archdeane of St Andrews. At his admission he received, in the towne-church, from the said bishope, the Bibell, the keys of the church-doore, and the bell-towe, all in his hand. Aprill 11, 1664, att St Androus, the said Mr Andro Hinnymman was consecrat Bishop of Orkney; he did succed to the deceased Bishop Sidserfe." Though the

Some few yeirs before this, there were three gentlemen drinking and carousing, and as the abominable custome of the tymes is, they

Bishop of Orkney was supposed to have dealings with the devil, he seems not to have possessed a coat of proof, or other protective spells, like his friend Archbishop Sharp, as he received in his own wrist the shot which Mitchell intended for the primate when getting into his coach on the high street of Edinburgh; neither did Satan afterwards assuage his pains by the help of medicinal charms, for his wound continued to afflict him untill his death, the supernatural mode of which even Wodrow hints at darkly. He died in February 1676, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Kirkwall. Of course, Keith terms him "a man of singular piety and great abilities." For the reverse of his character, see Wodrow, *passim*, and a brief Historical Account of the wicked Lives and miserable Deaths of some of the most remarkable Apostates, &c. It has been common for the arch enemy of mankind to exact a rigorous payment of the bonds entered into with him by magicians and witches, and on many occasions to destroy his miserable slaves with extreme violence; as in the cases of Zyto, family-conjurer to Wincellaus, son of the Emperor Charles the Fourth, and of the still more celebrated Dr Faustus. The Duc de Sully informs us, that the Fair Gabriella was supposed to have made some ill-judged paction with the foul fiend, in order to obtain a complete ascendancy over her royal lover, which was the true occasion of her extraordinary death, terrible with unwonted convulsions, distortion of frame, blackness in the face, and her mouth drawn round to the back part of her neck. It is probable, however, that she died by poison. At the same time, Madame de Montmorency, (Louise de Budos, daughter of Jaques de Budos, Vicomte de Portes, and Catherine de Clermont,) the beauteous and youthful second wife of the Old Constable, was supposed to have fallen a victim to a like unhallowed contract. This, says Sully, is what was related of the Constable's lady, and, as it is affirmed, by the ladies who were then at her house: She was conversing gaily with them in her closet, when one of her women entered in great terror, and told her that a certain person, who called himself a gentleman, and had indeed a good presence, saving that he was quite black, and of a gigantic stature, had just entered her anti-chamber, and desired to speak with her about affairs of great consequence, which he could not communicate to any but herself. At every circumstance relating to this extraordinary courier, whom the woman was ordered to describe minutely, (I have somewhere read, that she particularly observed his figure to have no reflection in the mirrors of the chamber which he traversed), the lady was seen to turn to pale, and was so oppressed with grief that she could

were drinking healths to make their drink goe away with, and having drunk so many healths, not knowing whose health next to drink, one of them drinks the devill's health, and the rest pledges him. Their cursed names are the Earle of Kellie, the Lord Kerr, and David Sandilans, Abercrumie's brother, with other two. Sandilans that same night going down the stairs, fell and brake his neck; Kelly and Kerr, within a few days both of them sickened of a great fever and died; the fourth also dyed shortly; and the fifth being under some remorse, lived some tyme. O the patience and forbearance of God!

Siclyk, in the yeir 1677, in January, did three profligat men, ane Munro of Priestfield, and one Lockhart, and one Fielding, an Englishman, who had committed murder in England, and came down to Edinburgh to eschew the law, all of them being at Edinburgh in a house drinking healths, about 7 or 8 hours at night, they drank three profane and blasphemous healths, horrid to think on, much more to express; one was to the Trinity, the other was to their confusion, horrid to think on; and the third was a health to the devill. O the long suffering patience of Almighty God, when such

scarce tell her woman to entreat the gentleman, in her name, to defer his visit to another time; to which he replied, in a tone that filled the messenger with horror, that since the lady would not come willingly, he would take the trouble to go and seek her in her closet. She, who was still more afraid of a public than a private audience, resolved at last to go to him, but with all the marks of a deep despair. The terrible message performed, she returned to the company bathed in tears, and half dead with dismay; she had only time to speak a few words to take leave of them, particularly of three ladies who were her friends, and to assure them that she would never see them more. That instant she was seized with exquisite pains, and died at the end of three days, inspiring all who saw her with horror at the frightful change on every feature of a face once so remarkable for beauty and sweetness.

dogs barks against heaven, the fruits of the louseness of the times we are fallen in.*

* It is probable that Fielding, the Englishman mentioned in the text, was the celebrated Beau, as he appears to have been in Scotland when he excited the jealousy of the Earl of Monteith respecting his countess, afterwards divorced on account of an intrigue with Ross of Auchlossan.—*Consistorial Court Record*, An. Do. 1684. And he was much suspected to have been concerned in the murder of Mr Perceval, a crime wrapt in mysteries, which time has not removed. This murder was committed in the year 1677, and is very remarkable from some of its circumstances, as preserved in the History of the House of Yvery. Robert Perceval, the second son of the Right Honourable Sir John Perceval, Bart. was a youth of uncommon mental abilities, but a libertine and a duellist. In the course of his short life, being only 19 when murdered, he had fought as many duels as he could number years. One morning he was found dead near the May-Pole, in the Strand, with a deep wound under his left breast, and his sword, drawn and bloody, lying by him. "A stranger's hat, with a bunch of ribbons in it, was found by his side, from whence it was at first hoped that the murderer might be discovered; but this expectation was found vain. For though the king by his proclamations, and the family by all proper enquiries, endeavoured to bring the offenders to justice, no positive or certain proof was ever attained to; and the villainy has, as yet, escaped at least a publick punishment.

"Many extraordinary circumstances attended this sad affair. It becomes the nature of these relations to give those circumstances, with their authorities, and the reader is left to make his own judgment upon them, without enquiring into the author's private sentiments. For men, upon matters of the following kind, must think differently, according to their different turns of mind, and the different prejudices or impressions of their education. The particulars are delivered, word for word, as they are minuted down by the present Earl of Egmont, upon a conversation which Sir Robert Southwell had with him immediately before his death.

"What I am going to relate I had from persons whose sincerity I can depend on. A few nights before the murder, Robert, who was a student in Lincoln's Inn, was sitting in his chamber reading; and it was late at night when there appeared to him his own apparition, bloody and ghastly, stalking into his chamber. My uncle was so astonished at the sight, that he immediately swooned away, but, recovering, he saw the spectre walk out again, and vanish down stairs. When he was recovered of his

This yeir, 1676, was a pleasant yeir in its seasons throughout Britain and Ireland; the spring most seasonable and warm, the

fright, he undressed himself, and went to bed, but in extraordinary uneasiness, so that he could not sleep, but rose early, and putting on his cloaths, went to his uncle and guardian, Sir Robert Southwell, who lived in Spring-Garden. It was so early, that Sir Robert was not yet stirring, but nevertheless he went into his room and waked him; it was a freedom he was not used to take, and Sir Robert was surprised; but asking him, What made him there so early? my uncle, still in consternation, replied, he had that night seen his ghost, and told him all the particulars, as I have related them. Sir Robert at first chid him for reporting an idle dream, the effect of an ill life and guilty conscience; (for he loved his pleasure, and followed it too much,) but observing the disorder he was in, and having repeated the story to him, he grew very serious, and desired his nephew would take care of himself, and recollect if he had given occasion to any person to revenge himself on him, for this might be a true presage of what was to befall him. My uncle after some time left him, and notwithstanding the impression this made at first, I suppose he wore it off soon, or else it were impossible he could be so careless of himself the night he was killed. For that evening he was dogged from house to house where he visited by a single man, who followed him at a small distance, who, when my uncle went into a house, would wait like a footman at the porch till t'other came out; insomuch that once or twice he spoke to him, asking, what was his business in following him so close? and the other answered, What was that to him? he was about his own business. Nay, when my uncle told his friends he was dogged, he would not let them send a footman to attend him; and when, at eleven o'clock at night, he was assaulted by two or three, and wounded slightly as he entered a tavern in the Strand, where some friends of his were, he would not take warning, nor admit any one to see him safe away, though the tavern-boy was so urgent with him that he chid him for his impertinence. But leaving that company, he was a little time after found dead by the watchmen in the Strand, supposed to be killed in a house, and laid afterwards there. I have the examinations taken by the coroner's inquest now by me, but they could not help to a discovery. This my uncle Southwell told me himself a little before he died, word for word; and there are others still living who do confirm the thing, who were servants in the family, particularly Mrs Brown of Bristol, who told me two years ago, that the night he was killed, she dreamed one Mrs Sherman, who lived with Sir Robert, came to her and asked her for a sheet; and demanding, What to do with? Mrs Sherman replied, Poor Master Ro-

summer very seasonable, with short warm shours, and the months of August, September, and October, most seasonable for the harvest. Little or no rain in all the last three months, brooks and wells dried up through drought, untill the 1st of November, at which tyme there was two or three days of rain. The people of England were necessitat to dryve their cattle far off to seek water for them ; never

bert is killed, and it is to wind him in. As soon as she waked, the same gentlewoman came into her room, and asked for a sheet ; and then, remembering her dream, she, in a consternation, asked, For what ? The other answered, *Poor Mr Robbin lies dead in the watch-house in the Strand, and it is to wind his body in.*

“ Sir Philip, his elder brother, being returned from his travels, and intent upon finding out the murderers, fell violently foul one day in Dublin upon a gentleman whom afterwards he declared he had never seen before, and could not account for his rage ; only he was possessed with a belief he was one of those who killed his brother. They were soon parted, and the gentleman was seen no more.

“ It is said of this unfortunate young gentleman, that when he came into the tavern before mentioned, he called for a glass of brandy, saying that he was a little faint ; and then, after having wiped his sword, which was stained with the blood (as he said) of one of those by whom he was assaulted, whose business (as he expressed it,) he had done ; and after having with his handkerchief tied up his leg, which was wounded, as he was going out of the house, in order to retire to his own chamber, he stepped back to tell the master of the tavern that he should remember *that he had been attacked by persons who bare him an old grudge ; and that if he was murdered, his friends would find it out.* Dark speeches of the same nature he had used to others, but they were still insufficient to procure a legal conviction of the actors in this tragedy. As for the further consequences of it, and the suspicions that were entertained, some imagined it was done by *Beau Fielding*, with whom he had a quarrel at a play, others by a near relation to Sir Robert Southwell's wife ; but the matter was too uncertain to admit of any free discourse of any person for it ; and for the rest, we refer to what will be hereafter said of this affair in the Life of Sir Philip Perceval, his elder brother.

“ This gentleman fell, unmarried, at the age of nineteen years and four months, wanting only three days, and was buried in a private manner, near one of the pillars at the north-west end of the burying-ground under the Chapel of Lincoln's-Inn.”

did these islands have a more plentiful harvest, and that of all manner of graines, than in this yeir.

November 1676. The common councill of the city of London being mett, and sensible of the great decay of trade, vote an address to his majesty for remedying thereof, with their reasons for the same. 2. An act was made against English papists frequenting the queen's chappell, and other houses of the ambassadours who keep mass, and against all priests preaching their sermons in English; present at the councill when this act was made, with the king's majesty, Prince Rupert, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Duke of Monmouth, Duke Laderdale, Earl Sunderland, Earl Peterburrow, Bath, Vicount Faconberg, Vicount Newport, &c. Bishop of London, &c.

November 3d, anno 76. An order ishued out by the king's councill at London for apprehending Sir Ellis Lighton, brother-german to Bishop Lighton; their reward is 100 lib. He was appointed ambassador's secretarie in the court of France, to solicit there the restitution of English ships taken by the French privateers, and had behaved himself corruptly in that negociation, by contracting for and receiving bribes in prosecution of the merchants of London affairs, making corrupt agreements with the French privateers, contrar to his trust, and to the great loss of the said merchants. He was popish, and the queen's elymosiner.

In the year 1676, the 17th, 18th dayes of December, there was a most violent frost both before and behind them; but these so violent, as the most aged never remembred the lyke. The birds fell down fra the air dead; the ravens died; the ratts in numbers found deid; all liquors friezed; the strongest aile, the urine in the chamber-potts, yea, the distilled waters of apothecars in warm rooms friezed in wholl, and the glasses broke.

Anno 1676, the Laird of Kinnaber, a gentleman in Montrose, a

Quaker before the yeir 1660 unto these tymes, having some daughters, one of them desired to go to church to hear God's word, but he refuses her; yet she importuning him, at lenth he grants she should. Requesting this favour a second time, he absolutely refuses her. The young woman, being grieved at this, sickens and dyes; yet, before her death, she tells him that he had occasioned her sickness, at which he was sorrie, and she requests him, that if any of her sisters should desire to go to the kirk, he would not hinder it, which he promised. Afterwards they went, and then the mother; at last he was persuaded to goe himself to hear the minister. The minister of the place was Mr Lyall, an able and good man. He being excommunicat, was desirous the minister should louse him fra that sentence, which, upon acknowledgment of the evill of his way before the congregation, was done; and his confession was the more remarkable, that publickly he confessed, 1st, That the ringleaders of the Quakers had correspondence with the Pope and the chief of the Papists, and that they were largely supplied with money from them; (for he himself was one of their chief collectors, and had increased his estate that way). 2d. He confessed that they had converse with Satan, which myndes me of what is recorded in Clerk's Examples, of Gilpin, an English Quaker, how that after he returned from his damnable errour, and straying wayes, he confessed that the spirit that guided him in that way let him see a butterflie on the wall, bid him cutt his thrott and let in that butterflie, which was the spirit. This was the first mean of his turning from and loathing that way, and of convincing him of his errour.*

* In the life of Mr Alexander Peden, who, from an humble precentor, became a favourite preacher and prophet of the fanaticks, is the following anecdote respecting the appearance of an evil spirit at a Quaker's meeting.—“One time travelling himself alone in Ireland, the night came on, and a dark mist, which obliged him to go to a

Anno, 1676, a daughter of the Laird of Bardowie, in Badernock parish,* intending to go fra that to Hamilton to see her sister-in-law, there is, at the same time, a woman come to the house, which a yeir before that gave the lyke warning, born dumb and deaf. She makes many signs to her not to go, and takes her down to the yaird, and cutts at the root of a tree, making signs that it would fall and kill her. That not being understood by her nor any of them, she takes her journey, the dumb lass holding her to stay. When the young gentlewoman is there at Hamiltoun, a few days after, her sister-in-law and she goes forth to walk in the park, and

house belonging to a Quaker. Mr Peden said, I must beg the favour of the roof of thy house all night; the Quaker said, Thou art a stranger, thou art welcome, and shalt be kindly entertained; but I cannot wait upon thee, for I am going to the meeting. Mr Peden said, I will go along; the Quaker said, Thou may, if thou please; but thou must not trouble us; he said, I will be civil. When they came to the meeting, as their ordinary is, they sat for some time silent, some with their faces to the wall, and others covered; being a void in the loft above them, there came down the appearance of a raven, and sat upon one man's head, who started up immediately, and spoke with such vehemence, that the froth flew from his mouth; it went to a second, and did likewise. Mr Peden sitting next to his landlord, said, Do you not see? ye will not deny yon afterwards; he said, Thou promised to be silent. It flew from a second to a third man's head, who did as the former two, when they dismissed. Going home, Mr Peden said to his landlord, I always thought there was devilry among you; but I never thought that he did appear visibly among you, till now I have seen it. O! for the Lord's sake, quit this way, &c. The poor man fell a weeping, and said,

perceive that God has sent you to my house, and put it in your heart to come along with me, and permitted the devil to appear visibly among us this night, I never saw the like before; let me have the help of your prayers, for I resolve, through the Lord's grace, to follow this way no longer; after this he became a singular Christian."—*Vide Satan's Invisible World*, for "A wonderful Story of one Robert Churchman, inveigled in Quakerism, and possessed by a spirit."

* David, third son of Sir David de Hamilton, ancestor of the Dukes of Hamilton, married a daughter of Galbraith of Galbraith, in Stirlingshire, by whom he got a fair estate; and from him are the Hamiltons of Bordowie descended.

in their walking they both come under a tree that is cutt throw at the root, and leaning by the top upon another tree ; in that very instant that they were under it, they hear it shaking and coming down ; her sister-in-law turns to the right hand, and she herself flees to the left, that way that the tree fell, and so it crushed her and wounded her sore, so that she dies in two or three days sickness.

December 1676, a young dumb girle, about 14 years of age, coming to the house of Sir George Maxwell of Pollock,* from the north, a gentleman's daughter of the name of Dowglass. He for a long tyme had been very unwell, and much pain'd in his syd, with a pain also in his shoulder. She made signs to his sister and daughters that there was a pictour of wax turning at the fire in a certain hous, and therefore made signs to them to caus two men go with her thither. They did not heid her, specially his lady rejected any signs of that kind ; yet at length, she importuning the young gentlewomen, they gave orders to two of their men-servants to go with her, and straightway she takes her course to the house of a woman, *malæ famæ*, whose son the laird had incarcerat for breaking of his yeard and stealling his fruit aforehand. And she going in with the men, the woman on some occasion stepping to the door, the dumb lass instantly put her hand behind the chimney, and takes out a picture of wax wrapped in a linen cloath, gives it to the men, away they all come with it, and letts the gentlewomen see it. They find two prins stuck in on the right syd of it, and a pin on the shoulder

* Sir George Maxwell of Pollock, knight, married Annabella, daughter of Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, by whom he had a son, John, his heir, afterwards Sir John, and three daughters. Marian, married 1st to William Stuart of Rosythe, without issue ; 2dly, To Sir Charles Murray of Dreghorn. Annabella, married 1st to John Cathcart of Carleton, without issue ; 2dly, To Sir Robert Pollock of that ilk, and had issue. Margaret, married to Alexander Maxwell, younger of Calderwood.

downward, which they take out, and keeps quiet ; and that night the laird had good rest, and mended afterward, though slowly, for he was sore brought down in his body ; and in two or three days they made him understand the matter. The woman is apprehended and laid up in prison in Paisley, and after search, severall witch marks are found on her, and when prins are struck in, she found it not. This being discovered, it gave ground of suspicion to some that she had also wronged Mr Jamieson, minister at Govan, and the laird's good-brother, especially considering that he himself suspected he was witched, though he knew not by whom, for he had a great pain betwixt his navill and his back, which the physicians could not understand, and continued with him a long tyme, and brought him very low, and at lenth ended his days. Surely the Lord, in the deep of his wisdom, may give up the bodies of his people to be troubled and tormented by Satan. Two ministers in Ireland, Mr John Shaw, and Mr Jeremy M'Quin, ane Irish minister, both godly men, were brought to an untimely end by witches, and the craft of Satan. 2. So was Mr John M'Lellan, a godly minister ; and here, since I am on this subject, I will make known to the reader a very remarkable storie that fell out a few yeirs past.

There was a gentleman, John Shaw of Bargarran, in Arskin parish ; he always used to ryd the water of Gryf, which is 'twixt his house and Paisley, deep and late, and being at Paisley on a nyght, he comes late out of the town to go home, a thing ordinar to him, and it being very dark, he comes to the water syd at the foord, viz. Allan's foord ; he calls to his man that was riding with him to take the water. His man told him it was full water, and also very dark ; he tushes at that, and so put spurr to the horse, in steps he. His man thinking him too adventurous stays behind, waiting to hear what might come of him ; when he is mid-water, he hears him groan heavily, but heard no more of him, suspecting he might have

won throw ; but draws back to the nearest house, and abydes all night. Meanwhile, Bargarran his horse goes home his alone with brydle and sadle on him, without his master, about 11 or 12 hours at night. His lady and children are amazed at this, and concludes he's perished in the water. Betymes in the morning his family and neighbours come to seek him, and not only seek him be the way fra his house to the water, but gets botts and searches all the water down to Clyd, and searches Clyd near to the sea, but found he cannot be ; whereupon they give over seeking. A quarter of yeir after that his body is found near two mylles of the water, and a myle fra his own house, in a ditch at the end of a moor, in the spring tyme, (which ditch gentlemen about declared that in their hunting in the winter they had searched, and found nothing lyke him in it) ; but that which was remarkable, his ryght hand was cut off ; his privie members were cut off ; his cloths and boots no wett, nor any way spoyled ; his papers in his pocket all dry ; his gold which he used to wear about him are found on him ; (among which papers there was a discharge of accompt he had payed to a merchant in Paisley, who, supposing his discharge had been lost with himself in the river, did knavishly suit his son for the same count already payed) ; his hat layed beside him, and his lather-cap upon his head, and the string of his hat about his collar, which was ordinar to him when he ryds in dark nights or windy nights ; and his body found als fresh, as if he had been newly dead ; at the off-taking of his boots, one of his heels bled. All men were sensible that he was brought to that untymely end and death by the hid works of darkness ; but how to make a search after it his relations knew not.

2. Its recorded by Buchanan in his Chronicle, that Duffus, King of Scotland, fell very unwell, and languishing even near to death, occasioned by the witches of that time their making his pictour in wax, and toasting it at the fire. One of the witches' daughters, who

was a whoor to the captain of the Castle of Forfar, hearing it of her mother, discovered it to him, and the actors of this scheme he causes apprehend, gets the pictur, and burnes the witches ; so the king recovered his health. A lyke story to the former I myself was a witness of. Two noble persons newly married, coming home some eight or nine weeks after their marriage, they mett with a dumb woman upon the road, the lady ryding at that tyme before, her back being next to the dumb woman, and her husband following, the dumby steps asyd, and signs to the gentleman that his lady was with child, pointing at her, by sucking her own finger, taking out her breast, and holding out her belly. None in the company had ever seen her before ; and accordingly it fell out, for the young gentlewoman was conceived, and in the tyme appointed, brought forth a son. Its hard to defyne how these dumbies that are so naturally, comes at this knowledge. It would seem that it is a property given them of God, to make up these two defects of speaking and hearing.

But how things are made known to them it is not so well made kent to us ; however, self-seeking to find out their fortunes by them and events of things, either from these that are truely dumb, or feinedly so, is certainly impius. Its storied (and the story is true) of a godly man in Ireland, who lying one day in the fields sleeping, he was struck with dumbness and deafness. The same man, during this condition he was in, could tell things, and had the knowledge of things in a strange way, which he had not before ; and did, indeed, by signs make things known to others which they knew not. Afterwards he at length, prayer being made for him by others, came to the use of his tongue and ears ; but when that knowledge of things he had in his deaf and dumb condition ceased, and when he was asked how he had the knowledge of these things he made signs of, he answered he had that knowledge when dumb, but how and

after what manner he knew not, only he had the impression there of in his spirit. This story was related by a godly minister, Mr Robert Blair, to Mr John Baird, who knew the truth of it.* And

* The Rev. Mr Robert Blair, in his Memoirs, which have not been faithfully printed from the MS., relates the following extraordinary adventure of his own, while at Bangor in Ireland, with a man haunted by Belzebub, and tempted to commit murder.

“ Having declared how gracious the Lord hath been toward me, and that people he sent me to, I shall next shew how the murtherer Satan, visibly appearing to a wicked man, stirred him up to stab me, and how mercyfully I was delivered therefrom. I was spending a day in family humiliation, and was come to the mid-day, when one comes to the gate and knocks. Now I had given order before hand that if any knockt at the gate that day, none should open but myself ; when I opened, I saw two men standing without ; the one whereof (being a rich man) was chief constable of that paroch ; the other was a tennant of his ; their errand was to shew me, that the tennant had a bairn to be baptized, (for I baptized none, till first I conferred with the father, and exhorted and instructed him as need required) ; when I had spoken what I thought necessary, and was ready to turn into my house, the constable dismissing the other, told me he had something to say to me in private. I looking upon him, saw his eyes like the eyes of a cat in the night, did presently conceive that he had a mischief in his heart ; yet I resolved not to refuse what he desired, but I kepted a watchful eye upon him, and stayed at some distance ; and being near to the door of the church, I went in, and invited him to follow me. As soon as he entered within the doors, he fell a trembling, and I a wondering. His trembling continuing and growing without any speech, I approached to him, and invited him to a seat, wherein he could hardly sit. The great trembling was like to throw him out of the seat ; I laid my arm about him, and asked him what ailed him ? but for a time he could speak none. At last, his shaking ceased, and he began to speak, telling me, that for a long time the devil had appeared to him ; first at Glasgow he bought a horse from him, receiving a sixpence in earnest, and that in the end he offered to him a great purse full of sylver to be his, making no mention of the horse ; he said that he blessed himself, and so the buyer with the sylver and gold that was poured out upon the table evanished. But some days thereafter he appeared to him at his own house, naming him by his name, and said to him, Ye are mine, for I arled you with a sixpence, which yet ye have. Then said he, I asked his name, and he answered, they call me Nickel Downus, (I supposed that he repeated evil, that he should have said Nihil Damus). Being thus molested with these and many other ap-

truely we wold be sober in passing judgement on them that are truely dumb, lest we father the works of the sovereign God on Sa-

paritions of the devil, he said he left Scotland ; but being come to Ireland, he did often likewise appear to him, and now of late he still commands me to kill and slay ; and often, says he, my whinger hath been drawn and kept under my cloak to obey his commands, but still something holds my hand that I cannot strike. But then I asked him whom he was bidden kill ? he answered, Any that comes in my way ; but

‘ The better they be,
The better service to me,
Or else I shall kill thee.’

“ When he uttered these words, he fell again a trembling, and was stopped in his speaking, looking lamentably at me, designing me to be the person he aimed at ; then he fell a crying and lamenting. I showed him the horribleness of his ignorance and drunkenness ; he made many promises of reformation, which were not well keep’d ; for within a fortnight he went to an ale-house to crave the price of his malt, and sitting there long at drink, as he was going homeward the devil appeared to him, and challenged him for opening to me what had passed betwixt them secretly, and followed him to the house, pulling his cap off his head, and his band from about his neck, saying to him,—‘ On Hallow-night I shall have thee, soul and body, in despite of the minister and of all that will do for thee.’ The man being exceedingly terrified, sent presently for me, and told me, as is here formerly set down, being driven to his bed by this terror ; when I came, his wife told me with what amazement he entered the house, bare-headed, and his band rent, saying he had hardly escaped ; he intreated me, for Christ’s sake, to be with him that night wherein Satan had threatened to carry him away. I instructed him the best I could, and praying with him, promised to be with him that night, providing he would fly to Christ for refuge, and not to me, who was but a weak and wretched creature. I intended to have spent the day before that night wherein I was to be with him, as I had done that day when he first came to me, and thought to have killed me ; but when the day came, I had no mind of my resolution till it was near night, and being in great doubt what to do, I went to my chamber in great heavyness ; I durst not break or slight my promise, and how durst I go, being so unprepared for so pitched a conflict ? Being thus humbled before the Lord, I was encouraged to go, trusting to his gracious goodness, who is the preserver of men

tan, which is hy impiety. Many instances might be adduced of their knowledge, even of future events, some of them who are born dumb. Take these, which are of certain truth. The late Lord Marquis of Argile, in the year 1657, being in Falkirk, travelling towards Edinburgh, a dumb man being there, did make a sign of his end, and taking up Reider's Dictionary, casts up a place and points at it in Virg. *Æneid*,—"Inque humeros cervix collapsa recumbit," making mention of the beheading of a certain person, which the beholders could not read nor expound; but the minister coming in to the same room, who was Mr Edward Wright, the same who was principall of the College of Glasgow afterward, they told the matter to him, desired him to expone that sentence which the dumb man had pointed at; and he told it was relating a man that was beheided. Mr Edward Wright told this to myself. Another instance relating to this same noble person: When this same Lord Marquis of Ar-

against the wiles and violences of Satan; and so coming about day-light going, I called to one man of that village who was under the reputation of a godly man, and an elder of the congregation; to him I imparted the whole matter, desiring him to convene the people of that village, and tell them no more but that I would stay that night in the house of the sick man with them. I began with prayer, and thereafter expounded the doctrine of Christ's tentations, closing with a prayer, and singing of a psalm; and after that did the like on another passage of scripture; and after that another, still intermixing prayer and singing, till toward the morning. All this time my chair being close by the sick man's bedside, when I uttered any thing which he did not understand, with his hand he laid hold on my arm, requesting me to say that better. I hearkened to him, and laboured to do so. In the morning he took great courage to himself, defying Satan and all his works. Thereafter he recovered, behaving himself better, and was charitable to the poor; but I was never satisfied with him, he continuing still ignorant. In the end he sickened, and therein seemed very penitent. The last time I saw him, I asked at him, whether Satan had ever appeared to him after that night, wherein I continued with him? he answered, Never, taking the Lord witness thereof; and shortly thereafter dyed."

gyle went up to see the king after his return from exyle in the year 1661; when he went from Inerara to go to London, he went in his birline to Roseneath. Mr Alexander Gordon, minister there, with some others, accompanied him to the boat, and after the said noble lord had taken boat, and was upon his voyage, the said Mr Gordon returning home with another, meets a dumb man, who falls a-whynning and mourning, and having a staff in his hand, laid down the staff on the ground, and lays his body on the ground, laying his neck upon the staff, and smytting the upper part of his neck with the edge of his hand, he arose from the ground, and pointed at my Lord Argyle in the birline, which accordingly fell out, for he was beheaded.*

* Professor Baillie, in a letter to Mr Spang, says,—“My good-son, Mr Robert Watson, was with his (Argyle's) lady in Roseneath the night the king landed in England. He told me all the dogs did that day take a strange howling and staring up to my lady's chamber-windows for some hours together. Mr Alexander Colvill, Justice-depute, an old servant of the house, told me that my Lady Kenmure, a gracious lady, my lord's sister, from some little skill of physiognomy which Mr Alexander had taught her, had told him some years ago that her brother would die in blood.” His fate was also predicted in a poem, termed “Ane brief Explanation of the Life, or a Prophecie of the Death, of the Marquis of Argyll, with diverse Verses thereupon. Composed in Scottish Rhyme by C. C. his Lordship's old Servitor, and is to be sung according to Old Graysteel. Imprinted at Inverlochie, where his Lordship, with Sir Mungo, took first boating; and are to be sold at the New Mercat of Innerary, by D. F. 1656.” The concluding verses run thus:

“It hath been prophesied of old,
And by a preacher then foretold,
That mugged mantle thou hes on,
In pieces shall be rent and torn;
And humblie on thy knees thou's bow,
And beg the lairdship of Lochow,

The Laird of Duntraith, born dumb and deaf, a man devoutly sett, one a tyme two of his neighbours falling out at two myles distance from him, where he was at present in Duntreath, the one striking the other with a whinger in the arme, he, in the same instant of tyme, makes a sign of it.* So at Paslay, he being there in the year 1676, in December, in the time of the frost, there was one of his acquaintance went forth to a water at a good distance fra him upon the ice, and had fallen in ; and he, at that instant of time, gave warning of it by a sign. Another instance there is of a dumb man, with another man, coming to the Bott of Balloch, and he seeing the salmond-nett drawing in, he signs that there was five fish in it, and one of them having a hook in its mouth, by crooking his finger and putting it in his cheek ; the other man, being curious to know the truth of it, causes reckon the fishes, and see if any of them had a hook, and it was found so as it was signed by the dumb man. He tells the fishers what the dumb man had signed, and they gave the dumb man one of them.

If God give extraordinary and excellent gifts of knowledge to some of those that are naturally dumb and deaf, we would not envy it ; he is the sovereign Lord, and may bestow the common opera-

Yet not attaine it, but shall die
 With divers on a gallow-tree.
 So let them perish, great and small,
 Who had a hand in our king's fall !
 Amen, Amen, so let them say,
 Who reads these lynes, even every day."

Collection of State Poems, MS.

* Nisbet, in his *Heraldry*, asserts that William, eldest son of Archibald Edmonston of Duntreath, by Jean, daughter of Archibald Hamilton of Halcraig, being dumb, did not succeed to his father in his estates, which were enjoyed by his brother Archibald ; but this seems to be an error.

tions of his spirit on whom he will ; and who is he that can call Him to an account, and say, What does you ? It's high pride and arrogance to esteem of ourselves beyond what is due, and undervalue others whom God does richly qualifie, though in our own eyes they be but simple insignificant persons. God who made us made the worms ; he might have made us worms when he made us men, and might a made worms men. Let us study to be humble, and beware of quarrelling God for the works of his creation and providence. It's a truth that the bones grow in the womb, and we know it to be so ; but how they grow, that we are ignorant of. The dumb know, but how they know, that we cannot tell ; all knowledge is of God primarily, and without God there is no knowledge ; yea the devills cannot know without God, and it were a very hard construction of the works of God to impute every thing of that kind to Sathan, and a sign of pride and conceit, yea of a heart quarrelling at the works of Providence. God hath taken away the tongue and ear of the dumb, and hath given them a rich gift of knowledge in the room of it ; and by this would teach all of us his goodness to his creatures, and that we should study humility and sobriety of mind.

This their case that are naturally dumb and deaff differ far from the case of these that were possessed with a dumb spirit, whereof we read in the New Testament ; they were possessed of Sathan who had the use of their tongue and ear before their possession, and by his possession had their tongue bound up. These, again, are naturally dumb and deaf by the hand and finger of God, and not of Sathan ; next, their case far differs from the case of those that had a spirit of divination in them, sic as that damsell ye read of, Acts, xvi. 16, compared with v. 19. Ye will find she was a fortune-teller, or rather a deceiver of the people, which is forbidden of the Lord, Deut. xviii. 10, 11, 14, because some have converse with Satan ; be-

syd, these have the use of their tongue and ear. Again, their case differs from the case of these that have that which they call the second-sight, or a representation of things by the devill unto them as they shall fall out in the future time, because such have that representation of things from Satan by a compact with the devill, either made by themselves or their ancestors; so that even the posterity of these that have made a covenant with the devill, may have this second sight, though themselves be free of any sic bargan, as experience does manifest. Lastly, their case differs far from the case of them that are consulters with familiar spirits, Deut. xviii. 10, 11, 14, charmers, witchers, and diviners, from compact with Sathan; these that are naturally dumb ye will not find using any of these charms, spells, or witch wayes, which others that consult with familiar spirits doe. And its much to be noted, that, for most part of them, they are not vitious, drunkards, whoremongers, fighters, on whom God hath bestowed this excellent gift of knowledge; and surely there is much in that, that others have the use of tongue and ears, these have not. This establishes a great difference.

January 1677. Sir George Maxwell of Pollock, after the detection of the first effigies, image, or pictour of wax, was made by the devil and the witches for killing of him, (of which is aforesaid), growes well again; and within a little time he sickened the second tyme, his face and body turning all like the clay, and exceedingly troubled and pained near unto death. The same dumb lass (of which mention was made) being in his house, makes signs of the witches making of a second effigies, and she desires some to go with her for the detecting of it; whereupon the Laird of Housall being then present, taking some men with him, and the dumb girle, she leades them to the house of the witch's son that was first apprehended, viz. to Jonat Mathie's son's house, whose name was John Stuart. He causes search the bed of that man at the direction of

the dumb lass, in the meantyme standing at a distance, for fear they should have ground to say, that she laid the effigies there herself, the man John Stewart holding the candle to them, and they find under the bolster a portrattour of clay, not yet dried, which at the uptaking brake in the midle. The same gentleman challenges him, and he stands amazed; however, he apprehends him and his sister, a girle of 14 years of age, and brings them to the house of Sir George. After this discovery, the said Sir George presently recovered his health again. The young lass confesses, but the man not, till after two dayes; at length he does confess that the devill appeared to him in the night time, and awakened him, making him to light a candle; and that his appearance was in the shape of a black man, clothed in black, with a cambrick band streatched, on his legs hogars, without shoes on his feet, and clovin footed, (an emblem of the division he makes among saints and church members, and of the separation he makes betwixt God and sinners). Learned D. Mede has this observation, that the devill does never or seldom appear in the perfect shape of a man, but always with some defect; God not suffering him, since he made man to fall by his temptation, to assume the perfect shape of a man. As also he confest that that night the devill brought in at a window (large enough to receive women) four women; in all there were six, and the devill, who received the clay, formed the face himself, giving the clay to John Stewart to forme the rest. The devill after it was formed, put in it two prins on the ryght side, and a prin in the breast (Sir George found all his pain on the ryght side); after it was formed, one of the witches laid the effigies under the bollster of the said John Stewart, where it was found; but before it is laid up, the devill seeks the consent of all these witches present, putting it in one of their hands, and requires their consent from hand to hand in these words, "I, such a woman, (naming themselves by name) have the portraitour of Sir George

Maxwell of Nether Pollock in my hand, and I consent unto his death." Thus every one present said, giving it from hand to hand. The said John Stewart confesses that the devill required of him to renunce Christ and his baptisme, (a notable testimony to both against all athiests and anabaptists), by taking himself betwixt his own two hands, laying one of his hands on his head, and the other on the soolls of his feet, surrendering all betwixt his hands to the devill to be his, and for his service for ever. This covenant being made, the devill stipulates on his part to make him thryve in all things in the world ; as also to give him his heart's satisfaction on every one he envyes. These persons the devill caused warn by one of their number to meet at such a tyme ; amongst whom (as in all other great actions of his) he requires to be present a maiden witch, whether male or female, as here there was one, the sister of the said John Stewart, about 14 years of age, who was the first that confessed when apprehended, having this as it would seem for his design, to increase the number of his subjects of that kingdom of darkness. Therefore he does no great thing without a maiden to stirr them up, so much the more to entyce, and bring in such to his kingdom and service. The names of the persons present at this and the former action, are these as follows, that were their quorum :

Janet Mathie	Landslady.
Bessie Weir	Sopha.
Margaret Jackson	Locass.
John Stewart	Jonas.
Marjory Craig	Riger.
Annabell Stewart	An Ape.

The devill's name, whereby he made himself known to them, was J. Jewell. The young girle, after her confession, being demanded

what the devill's name was to them, (for he has different names to different societys), she being about to tell was stopped, the bed in the room she was in being made to shake in Sir George his house, and her clothes under her blown up with a wind.* Janett Mathie,

* Annabel Stewart confessed that her mother promised her a new coat for giving herself up to Satan, in the shape of a black man ; owing to which bribe, and the persuasions of Bessie Weir, " who was officer to their several meetings, she did put her one hand to the crown of her head, and the other to the sole of her foot, and did give up her soul and body (wholesale here is bad sale) to the devil ; that the new name the devil gave her was Annipy ; that he took her by the hand, and nipped her arm, which continued to be sore for the space of half an hour ; that she found him cold ; that thereafter he placed her nearer to himself."—*Relation touching the troubles which Sir G. Maxwell of Pollock met with from the Devil and his haggs, written from his own mouth by his son, and transmitted to Professor Sinclair.*—In this narrative, the devil's name is said to have been Ejoal ; but he seems to have assumed various names in his different lodges. By Catharine Sands, and other women in Culross, (burnt for witchcraft, 1675), he chose to be called Peter Drysdale ; while hags of another conventicle knew him under the denomination of Laurie Moir, or Peter Saleway.—*Criminal Record.*—He generally changed the names of his female proselytes, baptising them anew " with an waff of his hand, like a dewing."—*Trial of Isobell Eliot, 1678.*—To Barbara Innes at Elgin, he gave the name of " Bonnie Babie," probably on account of her beauty, as some of his witches are affirmed to have been handsome, and himself not insensible to their charms. About the year 1664, one Anne Bishop was his distinguished sultana in England ; she usually sat next him on festival nights, wearing a green apron, a French waistcoat, and a red petticoat.—*GLANVILL.*—Some account of a Scottish favourite is to be found in Satan's Invisible World. She was the wife of one Goodall, a cooper in the parish of Carron.—" This woman was about thirty-two or thirty-three years of age, a most beautiful and comely person as was in the country about. She was often filed and dilated by many who had been burnt. They told, that amongst them all, she was the person whom the devil at their meetings did most court and embrace, calling her constantly, my dear mistress, setting her always at his right hand, to the great discontent of his old haggs, whom, as they conceived, he now slighted." But he appears to have cooled in his passion, after she was apprehended, and committed to prison ; for one James Fleming, a sailor, taking great pains in order to make her confess, she hinted that if she got no deliverance from bondage after one o'clock in

mother to this John Stewart, and Annabell his sister, being prisoners in Paisley, desires to speak with her son, which was granted, and they make a third and new picture there of clay, which the foresaid dumb lass again discovers, and going there with some men, getts it on her, viz. the said Jonat Mathie in the tolbooth; this was supposed to be made to kill the daughter-in-law to the said Sir George, who was an active gentlewoman in the detection of the forsaid effigies; the ground of the presumption was, that she fell sick at the same tyme.

This dumb lass, by signs, signified to Sir George Maxwell that three years before she came there, she had an impression on her spirit to come thither. Mr John Scott, minister, being called to see two sick young gentlewomen of a gentleman's in the east, finds their disease not naturall, on which he enquires at the gentleman if

the morning, she would lay her heart open to him, who was to be upon the watch that night. The sailor, feeling some alarm at this, after consulting with his uncle, a grave and experienced person, took all his ship's company, fourteen able men, to keep watch with him, "not forgetting the reading of scripture, and earnest prayer to God. The night was still and calm, like a summer's night, without the least appearance of change, when upon a sudden at midnight, as James Fleming himself was discoursing her to and again, as the custom was, holding her by the hand, I say, upon a sudden, a terrible tempest, like a hurricane, came on, which took the roof from the house to their great consternation; and a voice was heard three times, calling her by a strange name to come away; at which time she made three several louns upward, increasing gradually till her feet were as high as his breast; but he held her by both the arms; and (as he used to say when he spoke of it) he beteached himself strongly and earnestly to God, though with great amazement, his hair standing widdershins in his head. And after the third call, he prevailed against the greatest effort which ever he felt, and threw her on the ground, she grovelling and foaming like one having the falling sickness, where she fell into a profound sleep, for the space of two or three hours; when she awakened, she declaimed most bitterly against the devil's treachery and perfidiousness, who had promised to carry her to Ireland before four o'clock in the morning, and to touch at Paisley, where she might see her sister in passing."

there were any that had envy at him? It was found that a woman near by envy'd the gentleman, whereupon, when the said Mr John saw the young gentlewomen under the sore fitt of sickness, at the same instant of tyme he takes with him some men, and goes to the house of the said woman, breaking up the doors for haste, finds two effigies of wax turning upon a spitt, apprehends the woman, and takes the effigies alongst with him. She was burned, and the gentlewomen recovered their health. This was a natural conclusion which the said Mr John drew from such premises. It's good for people to have nothing to do with those that are *malæ famæ*, for they are implacable as the devill, and envymous on the least ground; nor no gaining of them to repentance untill detected and in fear of death. Nor is it for folks to be vain, giving rash defiance to Sathan and his works, where there is no faith mixed with it, not to boast the devill, lest he make a fool of them.

It's remarkable that Michael, Jude, ix., durst not bring against Sathan a railing accusation, but said, "The Lord rebuke thee, Sathan;" but it is fit to tremble and fear, and be upon our watch. Women also, in child-birth, would look well whom they choice for their midwives, that they be of good report, it being very ordinar for them to be witches, such as are *malæ famæ*; because such as are so, ordinarily dedicate children to Sathan, especially the first-born, and use to baptize them in name of the devill privately; howbeit, that is of no force, nor can be imputed to the children or parents, being free of any accession thereto; yet such a claim the devill may lay to such, as to prove very troublesome to them by his temptations all their dayes, more especially to those children whose mothers are witches, there being nothing more ordinary to them than to dedicat their children to Sathan; and certainly it is a sin and an high provoking of God, and gives great ground to the devill to tempt, when parents are more satisfied with midwives of that name

than others, as supposing them to have more skill, more helpfull, and better success in sic a case than others ; a sin, I fear, too ryfe in the land, and indeed, upon the matter, a forsaking of God. This John Stewart, and his sister aforementioned, confessed that his mother gave them to the devill from the womb. It were good that our land had midwyves fearing God, educat for that end. Sathan is God's ape, studies to imitat God in his covenanting with his people, so he hath his covenant with his ; the seals of his covenant his nip, and the renewing of their covenant with the renewing of the nip ; as also his other symbols and tokens whereby he works, sic as these effigies or images, spells, syllabes, and charms ; and if he faillie in the performance of what he promises, he makes some of them miscarry in their hands, and lays the blame there. I say he studies to imitat God in his covenant and promises, not for any lyking he has to God or his ways, but because he finds God's method ensure the soul to himself. 2dly, For mocking of God and his holy ways.

The Earle of Dundonald, with his coatch and himself and his lady, goeing to the marriage of his grandchild to the Lord Montgomery, from Paslay to Eglintoun, An. 1676, in December, was stopt by the way at the said Jonet Mathie, her daughter's house, the witch now a prisoner in Paslay upon that account ; the horses of the coatch refused to go by that door, and turned their heads homeward ; whereupon the gentlemen that rode with the earle dismounted themselves, and yoked their horses in the coatch, but by that door they wold not goe. On which occasion the earle causes yoake his horses again in the coatch, and so dryves homeward with his lady, and all that was with him, to Paslay. A very remarkable passage as has been in our dayes.*

* The Lord Dundonald had joined with Lord Ross in granting a warrant to apprehend some of the witches, which may account for the supernatural stoppage of his

February 1677, did the said dumb lass in Pollock-place goe, and six men with her, to a witchwoman's house in Carmonnock parish, and gott an effigie of clay, which was said to be Mr Hugh Smith's, the minister of Eastwood, having in it a prin stuck in the head of it, two in the sydes of it, and one in the breast. Before this tyme Mr Hugh was much afflicted with pain and sweating, to the changing of half a dusson of shirts some days, and was brought very low ; and after this discovery, and the effigie gotten, and these prins taken out, he grew well again. The witch was taken and laid up. It was convoyed from another witch woman with whom it was made, in the place where Mr Hugh lived in Eastwood, to this woman, that lived in Carmonnock, to be kept by her, lest it should have been detected by the dumb lass at Pollock, where it was first made ; yet did this dumb lass receive the knowledge of this secret afterwards, as is already said.

February 1677. The witches already named were condemned by an assize to die, and be burnt at Paisley the 20th day of that instant.

The four witches and warlock foresaid that were burnt at Paisley on the 20th day of February, (for the young one was repyved for a tyme because of her age,) dyed obduredly, except the man, who appeared penitent, whose mother, Jonat Mathie, was first hanged without anie confession of her guilt, and the effigies, both of wax and clay, being put in a napkine and dashed in pieces, were thrown in the fire with her. Her son and daughter confessed,

horses at the door of Mathie's daughter. This was William, first Earl of Dundonald. Besides his grand-daughter Margaret, married to Alexander Earl of Eglintoune, he had two others, Helen, married to Hugh Earl of Sutherland, and Jean, the wife of the celebrated Viscount of Dundee ; after whose death she remarried with William, Viscount of Kilsyth.

that when the devill appeared first to them in her house, that she, their mother, called him a gentleman to them, and a good man that would not hear the Lord's name mentioned, for fear it should be taken in vain. Such was her hypocrisie and way to cheat her children, lest they should have named the Lord's name, and then he disappear, and they discover it was the devill that was present with them. There was also one Bessie Weir hanged up the last of the four, (one that had been taken before in Ireland, and was condemned to the fyre for malifice before; and when the hangman there was about to cast her over the gallows, the devill takes her away from them out of their sight; her dittay was sent over here to Scotland,) who at this tyme, when she was cast off the gallows, there appears a raven, and approaches the hangman within an ell of him, and flyes away again. All the people observed it, and cried out at the sight of it.*

January 1677. There was seen at Kilbryd, near to Glasgow, in a plain, an appearance of two armies, shooting of gunns and fighting on both sides; the fyre and smock was seen, but without noise and crack. Sic lyk at Easter Calder; on a moor there the lyke was seen, attested by eye-witnesses. Also about the same time there was an apparition of a man clothed in rid, on a hill above East-

* At the execution of Urbain Grandier, whom his personal attractions, his gallantries, and a pasquil he had written against Cardinal Richelieu, called "The Female Shoemaker of Loudon," caused to be burned alive for sorcery in the year 1634, a flock of pigeons hovered over, and alighted upon the pile, unscared away by the clashing of halberds which the guards were commanded to brandish for that purpose, and the cries of the astonished spectators. "Les partisans de la Possession s'écrierent que c'étoit une troupe de Démons qui venoient tâcher de secourir le magicien, et qui avoient regret de l'abandonner. D'autres dirent que ces innocentes colombes venoient au défaut des hommes rendre témoignage à l'innocence du patient."—*Histoire des Diabes de Loudon*, p. 167.

wood-moor, near Glasgow, crying, "Wo, woe to this land!" It's also remarkable, that in that month there was a dumb man in a hous, at the Wynd Heid of Glasgow, sitting, and on a sudden (he rousing up a man that was sleeping by him,) made, with his staff in his hand, draughts of fighting, shooting of gunns, and sounding of trumpets, saddling of horses, and drawing off boots, and making signs of some great stir, (the lyke a dumb man in Calder, before the rise of the west in the yeir 1666, made signs of a rying, shooting of gunns and of fighting, and of imprisoning,) attested by famous witnesses.

Siclyke, in February 1677, did the dumb Laird of Duntraith, at Pasely, make signs to some of great troubles and fightings to be in this land in a few months. These seem to be presages of sad things following, together with the strange revelations made to the fore-said dumb lass, in discovering witches, seems to be a presage of great alterations.

In 26th March, 1677, there was seen by some inhabitants of Glasgow, betwixt 11 and 12 at night, great fyres, as if it had been the burning of three corn stacks, on the south side of Clyd, beside Litle Govan, which flamm'd exceedingly; but there was no burning of houses, or stalks, as was found after search, and before that tyme was a dreadful voice heard in the Blackfriar Church for severall nights. Apryl 1677, the dumb lass that discovered the witches and the effigies they made, now does speak, which amases many; she being examined by some, she confest that she had not spoken before, but now does speak; and being asked, how she had that knowledge of detecting witches, and of other secrets? she declared that she knew not from what spirit, only things were suggested to her, but deny'd that she had any correspondence with Sathan. The best construction that can be put on her, as some think, is that she

has the second-sight, by a compact of her parents with the devill, and that she may be passive in it.*

* “ All this winter, and in 1677, we were allarmed with strange passages anent the west countrie witches besyde Pollock Maxwell’s house, whom they rosted by a lent fyre with images of wax and clay formed by the devill, and who at last dyed of that sweeting sicknes. See the depositions and confessions of these witches in a paper besyde me. But what struck all with admiration, was the manner of the discoverie by a dumb girle scarce 13, who led them wher the pictures were, who heard and understood not only Scots, but all other languages, and answered by signes and appositely, who prevaricated as to her name (Jonet Douglas), and place of birth, so that none could know whence shee came ; who at length spake and told shee had all the things shee knew revealed to hir in hir sleep by vision, and that it could not be from any delusion of Satan, for else his kingdom should be divided against itself, and our Saviour’s argument should not be concluding ; but what made her very suspect to be haunted only by a familiar, was her dissolute idle life, having nothing of austerity, and not so much as a shew or semblance of piety in it, but much lightnes and vanity, so that many concluded hir to be a very cheat ; and accordingly the secret councell ishued forth a warrand in May 1677, to apprehend her wherever shee should be found, in Glasgow or Pasley, &c. and put hir in close prison ; for if hir knowledge be so strange as its reported to be, its just shee tell whence shee hes it ; but if it be an unvoluntar possession, or by a spirit’s frequenting of hir, or by the second sight without a paction, it can never be made criminall ; its hir misfortune, to be prayed and fasted against, but not hir guilt, no more then ane infant or madman are punished ; *nam satis ipso furore punitur*, says the law. John Stewart’s sister, the maid-witch among them, about the age of 14, albeit penitent and confessing, yet throw pittie was throw order of the secret councell reprieved from burning.—*Nota*. In June 1677, the secret councell caused bring in the dumb lasse, now speaking, calling herself Jonet Douglas, (but she lyed as to her parentage), to the Canogate tolbooth, wher I spoke with hir ; ere shee came from the west, shee had discovered five or six mo witches, who had made the picture of Hamilton of Barnes, and wheirof he dyed : they were burnt at Dumbarton. The first night shee came to the Canogate, C. Charteris, one of the town baillies, shee told him his wife was bewicht by two old women in the Castlehill, and condescended on them, and they were imprisoned, and denied. Shee desired them to repeat the Lord’s Prayer ; they did before two ministers and others, who observed no alteration ; the lassie bad them advert, for they said not, Our Father which art in heaven, *in presenti*,

Sir George Maxwell of Pollock again falling exceedingly unwell and weak, she told that there was another pictour made of him in

but which wart, applying it to Satan ; by the same rule they should turne the following, Thy will be done, from as it is, to as it was in heaven, which I know not if they did ; but this is very incredible and fallacious. All ran to hir till the counsell discharged any to have accesse, finding hir ane impostor, or cheat at leist, possest, or having the second sight, or revealed to hir in the air, (as was reported of Major Weir) or in hir sleep. The counsell ordained hir to be banisht the king's dominions, and transported in some ship ; but there is no master can be yet persuaded to take hir with them, they are so feared, and some choice rather to hazard away without a passe, as to go in such bad company, as they think.

“ Neither must the west alone be fertile in witches, but Haddington, in East Lothian, must also give harbour to such unhappie creatures. There is one Margaret Kirkwood, in Haddington, that hangs hirselle ; some say shee was so strangled by the devill and witches. The same happened on a Sunday, in the afternoon ; shee hes a serving-woman in the church, called Elizabeth Moodie, who makes some disturbance and noise during the sermon, and numbers till shee reach 59, which was her mistresses' age, and then cryes, the turne was done, which was found to be the very instant in which her mistresse was making away hirselle ; upon this being apprehended and examined, shee denied till shee was searched and pricked ; and after the alledged marques were found upon hir, shee confessed herself to be a witch, (shee was burnt for it in the beginning of June 1677,) and the particular circumstances of it, as I heard hir acknowledge them. The said Margaret Kirkwood, who hanged hirselle, being wealthie, there ware severalls who put in for the gift of her escheat, amongs others, the toune of Haddington, &c. That miserable body, Lissie Mudie, who confest hirselle to be a witch, did also dilate five other women in the town of Haddington, two of them midwives, and a man, as guiltie of the same villanie ; and being confronted with them, I saw her constantly (tho' some, without any ground, alledged shee was hypocondriack) abide at her dilation, and bind them with particular tokens and circumstances, but they denied all. I did see the man's bodie search't, and prick't in two sundrie places, on at the ribs and the other at his shoulder ; he seemed to find pain, but no blood followed, though the pins were the length of one's finger, and on of them was thrust in to the head ; the marks were blewish, very small, and had no protuberancy above the skin. The pricker said there were three sorts of witches' marks ; the horn mark, it was very hard ; the breiff mark, it was very little ; and the

Killbryd, and offered to discover it, but they slighted the motion. However, Sir George dyes, being worn to a shadow. She detects another effigy of Mr Hugh Smith's, minister of Eastwood ; and she being assisted by his brother Mr James, finds it out in a house near to Renfrew, the said Mr Hugh at this tyme being very unwell, and near to death. She detects also an effigie of Robert Hamilton of Barns, who was lying very sick, and sorely tormented in his breast, and found it in a house near his dwelling, with pins in the breast of it. The woman with whom it was found being apprehended, confessed many facts and deeds that she had discovered, as a man's stealling of money from another in Killpatrick, 300 merks ; told that he had bought a horse with 5 lib. sterling off it, and that the rest was hid in the hous top ; and accordingly after search it was found so. She also discovered the witchcraft used against Robert Dowglass of

feeling mark, in which they had sence and pain. I find no judicious lawyer laying anie weight upon this marque, (which they call *sagarum stigma*) farther than *levis conjectura*, and *presumptio unde procedi potest ad inquisitionem, ad torturam vero non* (and their is no doubt but their methods of keeping them from sleep, and pricking, are a torture *in suo genere*, which no judge can inflict but the secret counsell and criminall lords.) See Martin *Delrio Disquisitiones Magicarum, libro II. in questione* 21, p. 198, wheir he says, in those markes their is nather pain nor blood. Again, lib. V. sec. 4, p. 726, he shews the severall figures of it, and that he gives not the nip to witches of quality, and sometymes when they are apprehended he delets it ; and that it will be in their eye-browes, their mouth, their nostrils, &c. and that all these marks are not void of pain ; and when they find themselves prickt, they may easily feigne pain that they find not : *de purgatione seu probatione per aquam*, see him refute it largely. The most part of the creatures that are thus deluded by this grand impostor and enemy of mankind, are of the meanest rank, and are either seduced by malice, poverty, ignorance, or covetousness ; and it's the unspeakable mercy and providence of our good God, that that poor devill has not the command of money, (tho' we say that he is master of all the mines and hid treasures in the earth,) else he would debauch the greatest part of the world."—FOUNTAINHALL'S MS. See a farther account of Elizabeth, or Lissie Muidy, in Satan's Invisible World.

Barloch his two sons, who perished both in a water near their dwelling. Whereupon six were apprehended, which she delated were guilty, and being put to the tryal by pricking, were found to have the marks, and two of them hanged themselves in prison. Siclyk she discovered fyve that were accessary to Barnes his sicknes, and being apprehended, they were all found to have the marks, and were putt in prison. Severall other secrets she discovered, tedious here to relate. She gave some hints of some great persons their being witches, but did not fully declare.*

The Bishop of Glasgow procures an order from the king's councell to secure her person as being a snare to the country, and accordingly she was putt in the tolbooth of Glasgow, May 5th, and thence was sent to Stirling tolbuith; and being there in prison, as she was looking out at a window to some children playing under it,

* " June 1677, the secret councell, upon a complaint given in by sundry gentlemen and others in the west country, granted a commission to the Lairds of Houston, Orbiston, Bishopton, Greinock, younger, and Mr John Preston (he allwayes being on) to try and judge some witches imprisoned at Dumbarton, who had been delated by Jonet Douglas, the dumb lasse, as they who had made and rosted the portrait of Hamilton of Barnes, a good gentlemen, and weill loved there, and whereof he dyed; the pictures ware tane, and Mr John Elies, who was employed for the witches, told me he saw them, and that they ware the most childish thing could be, and had scarce any resemblance, but two stumps for hands, two for legs; holes for eyes and mouth, and made of clay. In August 1677, they ware put to the knowledge of ane assyze, and found guilty, and burnt. One of them was condemned upon little or no probation, but fame and bruit of the country, the pretence of the assysers their own privat knowledge of hir guiltinesse, ane assyser being half a witnesse and half a judge, &c.—James Gaffarell, in his printed book of Unheard of Curiosities, cap. 5. *et seq.* thinks these pictures, and their efficacy and effect, attributed by us to witches, and to the devill, may be naturally done by talismanicall figures, and sculptures; such ware the brazen serpent, the Philistian mice, the Jebusites blind and lame," &c.—LORD FOUNTAINHALL'S MS.

to two of them she says that they were witch getts, and discovered some malefices their mothers had done ; whereupon they were apprehended by the magistrats, (the marks being found on them), and were put in prison. Mr Hugh Smith dyes of his disease.

June 1677, there was great trouble to them that kept conventicles in and about Glasgow, and throughout the land, by soldiers. The king's counsell also caused summond severalls of the merchants and others of the city to compeir before them ; they hearing of the hard usage some mett with, do not compeir. One Stobo in Fyfe-shyre compearing was fyned in 3000 merks, and banisht to America. An other, viz. Bennet, in the south, is fyned in 4000 merks, and put in prison till he pay it. John Anderson of Dowhill in Glasgow, becaus he wold not give his oath to answer whatever was demanded him, was fyned in 9000 merks, and put in prison, untill he pay it. Mr James Drummond, probationer, takin out of his bed in the country on a Sabbath-day, being supposed to have come out of the town to keep a field-meeting that day, and so shutt up in prison, he was tane by the soldiers, some of the country men having informed them of his out coming. The men whom the soldiers took at meetings were shutt up in prison, and some of them made to lay three months. The women that they gott at the meetings, they rob of their plydes and Bibles. Mr Traill, son of umquhile Mr Robert Traill, was then apprehended, and both he and Mr Drummond are sent to the Basse.

July 1677, the Duke of Laderdaill came down fra London to Edinburgh, put off the king's advocat Sir John Nisbitt, and puts in another in his room, Sir George M'Kenzie ; putt off two advocatts ; settled the affair 'twixt Argile and the M'Leans ; gave order to repair the Blackness ; ratified former acts against conventicles, and intimat them ; and when tryed by some ministers, whether it wold please him to accept of an address from the presbyterian party, de-

clared that he had once brunt his fingers that gate else, but resolved he wold do so no more, and shewed them that the laws wold be put with all vigour in execution against recusants. They urged why his grace wold not allow that favor to Scotland, which is allowed to England and Ireland, where presbyterian ministers preach with freedom, and without controll.

November 3d, 1677, the fire brake up in Glasgow in the heid of the Salt-mercat, on the right near the cross, which was kyndled by a malicious boy, a smith's apprentice, who being threttened, or beatt and smittin by his master, in revenge whereof setts his work-house on fyre in the night tyme, being in the backsides of that fore street, and flyes for it. It was kyndled about one in the morning, and having brunt many in the backsyd, it breaks forth in the fore streets about three of the morning; and then it fyres the street over against it, and in a very short tyme burned down to more than the mids of the Salt-mercat, on both sydes, fore and back houses were all consumed. It did burn also on that syd to the Tron church, and two or three tenaments down on the heid of the Gallowgate. The heat was so great that it fyred the horologe of the tolbooth, (there being some prisoners in it at that tyme, amongst whom the Laird of Carsland was one, the people brake open the tolbooth doors, and sett them free); the people made it all their work to gett out their goods out of the houses; and there was little done to save houses till ten of the cloke, for it burnt till two hours afternoon. It was a great conflagration, and nothing inferior to that which was in the yeir 1652. The wind changed several tymes. Great was the cry of the poor people, and lamentable to see their confusion. It was remarkable that a little before that tyme, there was seen a great fyre pass throw these streets in the night tyme, and strange voices heard in some parts of the city.

January 1678, the Duke of Lauderdale, with the rest of the king's

councell, having sent to the gentlemen of the west of Scotland, willing them to quesh these frequent field conventicles were there, the gentlemen having met on it out of these shires of Barronthrow, Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick, return answer that they were not able to do it, and that they knew no better mean than to extend the indulgence throughout the wholl realm for the satisfaction of the people. This answer offended Laderdaill and the king's councell, whereupon they take an oath of secrecie, and concludes to send in a potent army amongst that people ; and accordingly raises a number of the Highlanders, to the number of 5 or 6000 men, out of the lands of Athole, Marr, Straithmoor, Caithness, and others, as also the militia of Stirling and the Lothians ; as also the king's standing forces, consisting of a 1000 men, together with the king's lyve-guards, in sum amounting to the number of 8 or 9000 men, and sent them all to Glasgow, with four cannon and ammunitioun, and from that to the west, Kilmarnock and Aire, where there was a committy of the king's councill to give orders as they saw meet, and to press a bond tendered unto them that they shall not keep conventicles, nor intertain intercommuned persons, nor vagrant ministers, and these that will not embrace this, they were to subscribe to the letters of Lawbarrows to keep the peace. The gentry and the people being outwearied with oaths and subscriptions, (for in every revolution there was still new oaths pressit, and these also contradictory the one to the other, as if men had cast off all fear of God) ; as in Cromwell's tyme, the usurper, there was an oath administered to the people by the commonwealth, casting off King and Hous of Lords, contrair to the oath of alledgeance and covenants. Again, Cromwell caused administer an oath for himself as protector, contrair to the former.

When the king is brought home, his councell causes these in office take the declaration, wherein they abjure the nationall covenant,

and the league and covenant formerly taken. They refuse to take these bands; yet many of the gentry, and some of the people, out of fear, take them. These that did not take them are denounced, and put to the king's horn, and made rebels; of whom was Duke Hamilton, Castles, Cochran, Loudoun, and other gentlemen of good quality, to a very great number. All were denounced and made rebels, upon their refusing to take this bond; and, indeed, many thought that all this work was done out of desygn to catch Duke Hamilton in one snare or another, for there was not a good understanding 'twixt the Duke of Laderdaill and Duke Hamilton at that tyme. Then Duke Hamilton, Cassillis, Cochran, and severalls of the gentlemen finding themselves difficulted, go up to London to the king's majesty, notwithstanding of a proclamation to the contrair that none should go off the kingdom, and they get but small acceptance with the king; yet they get this done, the bond laid aside from farther pressing of it, and the forces recalled out of the west, and disbanded all of them, excepting the king's troop and the regiment of red-coats; but as yet they are none of them relax'd fra the horn. These forces were disbanded in Apryl, after three months stay in the west, where some of the people were very ill abused with the Highlanders, especially many of them were utterly herried, and disabled from labour; and great summs of money, got by their dry quarters, and other means, was taken out of that country, some say to the value of ane hundred thousand merks Scotts, and above. The arms of the people, as guns and swords, &c., are taken from them, and they are summon'd to give them upon oath throughout all the western shyres. Followed on this a convention of estates of the realm, in order whereto there was a proclamation issued forth, of date the 23d of May, 1678, commanding all archbishops, dukes, marquisses, viscounts, bishops, lords, and officers of state, to

be present and meet at Edinburgh upon the 26th day of June next to come, there to attend that dyet ; requiring also all commissioners from shyres to be present at the same tyme. The end wherefore they were to meet was to staint the kingdom in a considerable summ for levying of men to secure against fforrain invasions and intestine commotions, especially these they stood affraid of from field-conventicles, which then were growing numerous, and people appeiring up and down in armes att these meetings. These they call, in their proclamation for this convention, the rendezvouzes of rebellion; accordingly they meet the foresaid day, the Duke of Lauderdaill having aforehand secured not only the burrows, but many of the shires, in their election, for the intent and purpose he had in hand, which was the raising of money for the raising of forces. Severalls also of these lords and gentlemen that stood opposit to him on Duke Hamilton's syd, throw his wise management, were turn'd over to his syde. Many people expected some tumult and bushling att this convention ; wherefore on purpose they flock in to Edinburgh fra all quarters and airts of the kingdom, with their arms and weapons about them, expecting either to do or to see some thing done. It was thought there was at Edinburgh at that tyme, besides toun's-people and the members of the convention, to the number of 200,000 men ; and, as it would seem, the Duke of Lauderdaill had his own fears, for he desires of the magistrates that the king's forces may have access to the city, but it was deny'd, it not being their custom to suffer any soldiers within the city ; only they engadge to him to keep peace within the city, and to guard him and convention members with their own militia within the city, whereupon they rest satisfied. He caries his business ; Duke Hamilton also consenting to a stent, and obtains a summ of twenty-five hundred thousand pund Sterling, to be lifted in five yeirs tyme, to be laid upon the kingdome by an act of this convention. He

casts in prison Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, by causing him to be takin out of his bed. This gentleman, before this, had withstood Laderdale in some of his purposes, and that in face of parliament, and now *manet alta mente repostum*. He caused imprison also Sir James Stewart, old provost at Edinburgh, and putt both in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. When some made complaint to him that the last was made close prisoner, he reply'd, he was in no worse chamber than the Marquis of Montrose was put; thus reflecting upon his usage when Sir James was then provost of the city. This convention being ended, in a few dayes he takes journey again for London, he with his lady aforehand having married his lady's eldest daughter to the Earle of Argile, his eldest son; and her younger daughter to ———; and Hattoun his brother's eldest son, the master of Matlan, to Argile's eldest daughter, which occasioned the M'Leans to be more afraid of Argyle's power and moyan against them, there being such linking of relations betwixt him and Laderdaill, the king's great favorite.

This done, these that keep'd meetings in the fields formerly, go on now as frequently as before.* Near to Monniboll, in the west,

* A very singular event which took place after a field-meeting is particularized in the Memoirs of Mr John Semple, minister of Carsphairn, who died about this time.—
 “ His painful endeavours were blessed with no small success, and this the devil envied very much; and particularly one time, among many, when he designed to administer the Lord's Supper, before which he assured the people of a great communion, by a gracious and remarkable downpouring of the Spirit, but that the devil would be envious about this good work, and that he was afraid he would be permitted to raise a storm or speat of rain, designing to drown some of them; but, said he, it shall not be in his power to drown any of you, no, not so much as a dog. Accordingly, it came to pass on Monday, when he was dismissing the people, they saw a man all in black entering the water a little above them, at which they were amazed, as the water was very large. He lost his feet, as they apprehended, and came down on his back, waving his hand; the people ran and got ropes, and threw them in to him; and there

there is a solemn meeting, and the communion celebrate to them, whereat there was most of the intercommun'd persons, and these denounced throw all parts of the land, present, and that in arms; and they, with others there mett, make up the number of 10,000 men with armes, so that a 1000 went away uncommunicating, through the want of elements. Their ministers, Mr Welch, Mr Riddell, a new admitted minister, and some others, to the number of seven or eight. At this tyme some of the people threaten to forsake Mr Welch, if he would not preach against the indulged brethren, which some others that followed these wayes very freely did. This did a little trouble Mr Welch, and grieve him, for he was not for casting out with his brethren, the ministrie of Scotland of the Presbyterian persuasion. Others of them that took these ways of field-meetings, especially the young men, (some whereof were admitted to the ministrie by them, without respect to charges and particular flocks, a practice unknown to the Church of Scotland, and contrary to the rules of presbytrie and the covenants, whereby we are sworn to keep the government of the church as then established,) preached against the indulged brethren, and

were ten or twelve men upon the ropes, yet they were in danger of being all drawn into the water, and drowned. Mr Semple looking on, cried, Quit the rope, and let him go; I see who it is, it is the devil; he will burn, but not drown; and by drowning of you, would have God dishonoured, because he hath got some glory to his free grace in being king to many of your souls at this time, and the wicked world to reproach the work of God, &c. All search was made in that country to find if any man was lost; but none was heard of, which made them conclude it to be the devil."

This Mr Semple, like Mr Peden, had a gift of discovering witches.—"Upon a certain time, when a neighbouring minister was distributing tokens before the sacrament, and when reaching a token to a certain woman, Mr S. standing by, said, Hold your hand, she hath gotten too many tokens already; she is a witch; which, though none suspected her then, she herself confessed to be true, and was deservedly put to death for the same."

reckoned them up in a worse categorie than those of the prelates and conformists, defaming and traducing them to the people; studying by all means to draw the people from them, inroaching upon their charges, unbrotherly and unchristian-lyke; when the one preach'd in their own kirks, the other preach'd in their parishes, and that some tymes on the same very day, and in the same very hour. All men of judgement and understanding lamented these disorders, fearing the sad consequences of them, to witt, the people's treading upon the authority of ministers, and rejecting a standing fixed ministrie in the land, which is the ordinance of Jesus Christ, the alone head of his church, and a great part of our reformation; as also feared the introducing of poperie, by their setting open these doors of disorders, contention, and strifes unto the Papists that were waiting for such occasions. But yet nothing could avall with them, for they were men that were not counsellable, as Jeremy complains, cap. vi. 10. Some of the judicious brethren advysed otherways, that every outed minister now alyve should returne to his own parish, having their concurrence thereto for his encouragement, and there, without noise and dinn, should preach to his people, catechize, visit their sick, dispense the sacraments, and goe about their work as the Lord should give occasion and opportunity; and that vacant congregations should be supply'd by young men upon the call of the people, at the oversight of the ministers of the respective bounds. Thus the church of God might have been edified, good order and discipline keeped in his house; but these to some seemed too soft overtures, in regard they had no tendency towards pell-mell, but only a tendencie towards peace, which did not please them. Some of these preached to the people that they should not pay cess or stent, which by the act of convention was imposed upon them; yea, that it was a sin to do it, in regard the use the states will make of it was to levie men to crush their meet-

ings, which, as it would seem, was neither sound doctrine nor good policie; not sound doctrine, becaus contrar to the doctrine of the gospel, which commands subjects to honour their magistrats, and that it is a part of the honour we owe them to pay their dewes, to give tribute to whom tribute is dew, custom to whom custom is due, impositions and stents to whom they are due; even the heathen magistrats, (for then there were no Christian magistrates when these commands were given), and that without asking how they would impend them, much more when it's declared that it is to secure the land against forrain invasion and intestine broills; might they not all this while been crying out upon the people not to pay the prelates and conformists their stipends, as well as to cry this? May they not also forbidd all tennants and vassals to pay their lards and masters rents to them, because they know not how they will impend them? Yea, becaus they know that some of them will whoor and drink to drunkenness with them, and play the churle, and give nothing to the poor of all they gett. May not as many reasons be adduced for making out the one as the other? Not good pollicie; for by this means they expose the people, if they harken to them, to a dowble, if not a triple loss, when by force these impositions shall be taken from them which willingly they will not give them. Some of these same persons stick not to say that what they doe is to urge and force the magistrat to condescend to them, and to grant them their desires; and indeed this is one of the great arguments they have for their practice. But it wold be considered that we ought not to do ill that good may come of it, it being expressly forbidden of the Lord; nor can we expect God's favour in the courses that will not be approven of him; besyd that, that thought may prove a great mistake, and insteid of obtaining favours from our magistrats, may fill them with jealousies of us and of our ways, that are their subjects, and being irritat by such prac-

tises, may provoke them to follow rigorous courses and ways with us. Now to walk disorderly and to follow practises to the irritation of the magistrat, and to occasion him to take up a bad opinion of his subjects by them, and an impression of their disloyaltie, is certainly in itself to do evill, whatever may be the intent of it.

Some of these fore-mentioned had very bad principles, and als bad practices. I take notice of these following, viz. Let us, say they, beginn and others will follow, and if they will not follow we will turn the people off them; meaning that if the outed and suffering brethren of the presbyterian persuasion whensoever they see their practice do not follow it, though it be contrar to their conscience, then, and in that case, they wold sett themselves to turn the people off them. They knew the magistrat was already turned off them, becaus of their non-conformity with prelacy, and now they think to make them altogether miserable by turning the people off them also; and this certainly is to be noticed in it, that these men do much glory in the ignorance, simplicity, indiscretion, and infirmities of the poor vulgar, a thing not to be gloried in, nor boasted of; to find a people easily turned aside from their shepherd's tents, and these that glory of this to-day, others, in the righteous judgement of God, may step in, papists and quakers, and take the same persons off their hand the next day, and glory als much over them, so that *Quod mihi fit hodie, cras tibi forsan erit*. But its good that what effect soever they produce upon the ignorant and indiscreet hearers, yet it will cost them a harder pull to produce the same upon the truely godly, and more judicious, who are rooted in the grace of God, and established in the principles of our religion and discipline; for wisdom will still be justified of her children. A second bad principle they had was this, Let us discountenance them, meaning the brethren that did not follow their way; and accordingly it was practised by some, in denying to visit them, and to keep that brotherly correspondence

with them that was fitting, and to preach with them when invited by them, and in behaving otherways very harshly towards them. A third principle they had was this, Let us not hear them, a very dangerous principle; and by this means the people were brought, not only not to hear the conformists, but not to hear the indulged brethren also, and other outed ministers that did not trade the same path with themselves. Unto such confusion was the church of God in this land hurried by these means of these men. A fourth principle that was displeasing to them was sin; what was pleasing was counted duty, without respect to God's command; and now when I say that some followed thir dark paths, I do thereby exclude others, who though they kept field meetings, yet was it in their own parishes, and that because of the want of convenient houses for meeting, and did not, to the grief and wounding of the spirits of their brethren, incroach upon their charges, nor stretch themselves beyond their due line, nor incroach upon other men's labours, both getting the call of the people, nor preach in vacancies, but upon the call of the people, and appointment of the brethren in these respective bounds, still keeping a cordial love to and harmony with their brethren. It had been very reasonable for such to have gone to the barren places of the land at the appointment of their brethren, where the Gospel had not been preach'd with that power and lyfe, and to have preach'd unto them; but to run upon these places where they had ministers, and these churches throw God's blessing to the edifying of the people, (as many instances can be given of their success in the Gospell), seems to be unreasonable, and that there is another design in hand by them than the preaching of the Gospell, and advancing of the kingdom of Christ; whatever pretence they may seem to lay claim to, severall of the brethren of the ministry partly foreseeing these storms and confusions falling in among ourselves, and partly throw the heat of the troubles they

were at the present under, shift themselves out of the land into other nations, as England, Ireland, and Holland, to have the free exercise of their ministrie there, and to keep themselves for better tymes.

August 1678, there hapned on the water of Clyd, near to Killpatrick on the east hand, an hurricane, that lighted on the water with great violence, and made the water to run round in the midst lyke a whirlepooll, and out of the waters it goes on the land, tearing up the trees be the roots, and blowing the stowks and sheaves of corne in the air. A woman seeing it was so affrighted, that being with child she parted with it; and men coming down the water in a boatt, observing it, took themselves to shore, out of fear, for shelter.

August 1678, the devill had a great meeting of witches in Lou-dian, where, among others, was a warlock who formerly had been admitted to the ministrie in the presbyterian tymes, and when the bishops came in, conformed with them. But being found flagitious and wicked, was deposed by them, and now he turnes a preacher under the devill of hellish doctrine; for the devill at this tyme preaches to his witches really (if I may so term it) the doctrine of the infernall pitt, viz. blasphemies against God and his son Christ. Among other things, he told them that they were more happy in him than they could be in God; him they saw, but God they could not see; and in mockrie of Christ and his holy ordinance of the sacrament of his supper, he gives the sacrament to them, bidding them eat it and to drink it in remembrance of himself. This villan was assisting to Sathan in this action, and in preaching. The way how this was detected was thus: Some of these witches being present at a sermon of an indulged minister, was struck with conviction and horrors of conscience, and made confession of it, and particularly delated this warlock minister, whereupon he was appre-

hended, and cast up in the tolbooth of Edinburgh ; a sufficient evidence of the successfulness of the indulged ministrie in the work of the Gospell against all their open mouth'd slanderers. It seems the Lord is giving more length of reinges to Sathan in these days, which should call us to be more in watching and prayer. O the patience and long suffering of God ! *

March 1679, a voice was heard at Pasley Abbay, saying, Wo, wo, wo, pray, pray, pray !

March 1679, Mr John Law, minister at Campsie, was taken for preaching in the fields, though an innocent preacher, and committed prisoner at Glasgow, and then carried to Edinburgh ; from that to the Bass, where there were severall others ministers, and there

* This warlock minister was Mr Gideon Penman, minister of Crichton, deprived, says Lord Fountainhall, for sundry acts of immorality. The devil called him Mr Gideon, my chaplain ; and in the dances of the hags, he kept the rear, and beat up those that were slow. Ten women affirmed this, but Mr Gideon as constantly denied it, and was liberated on finding security to stand trial. These witches, had they been permitted, would have accused " sundry gentlewomen and others of fashion. They declared and confessed, that the first thing the devil caused them do was to renounce their baptism ; and by laying their hand on the top of their head, and the other on the sole of their foot, to renounce all betwixt the two to his service. That he kissed them, but was cold, and his breath was like a damp air ; that he cruelly beat them when they had done the evil he had enjoined them, for that he was, said they, a most wicked and barbarous master. That he adventured to give them the communion, or holy sacrament ; the bread was like wafers, the drink was sometimes blood, and other times black moss-water. That sometimes he transformed them into bees, ravens, and crows, and they flew to such and such remote places," &c. Nine of them were condemned to be strangled and burnt, and were accordingly executed, five between Leith and Edinburgh, and the other four at Painston-muir, within their own parish. See more of these hags, and Mr Gideon, in the History of the Church of Scotland, p. 190, by Kirkton, who insinuates that Mr Edward Thomson, curate of Anstruther, was also a wizzard, " and he was known to have a brother who was a diabolick man."

continued untill July, and then they were lett free upon bond and caution of 10,000 merks, to compeir when called for.

In Apryll 1679, was the bishop of St Andrews, Mr James Sharp, murder'd, going in to St Andrew's toun, within two myles of it. The manner was thus: One Burley, with other six, having conspyred the death of an shireff-deput that had injured them as they alledged, whom they knew was to pass on such a day that way, they way laid him, and he taking another road, they miss'd him. Then seeing the bishop's coatch coming, they on a sudden resolved to sett on him, and appointed Burlie to lead them on, saying one to another, Though we have miss'd the deput, who has wrong'd us, yet there comes the great rogue of all, let us sett on him. The bishop's coatch passing by them eer they came to a full resolution, and seeing none with him but his coatchman dryving, (he having aforehand sent away his two servants, one to a nobleman's house to make his excuse for not paying him a visit at that tyme, the other to St Andrew's town to acquaint his family of his coming), instantly resolved and come up to the coatch, cutt the reins of the horse, beatt down the coatchman off the box, called upon the bishop to come out, calling him rogue, &c. He offered them money to spare his lyfe, and to do them good offices; but they wold not harken to it. His daughter being with him in the coatch, held by her father; but they alighted and drew him forth, and shott att him pistoll-ball, wherewith he fell. They supposing he had been quyt dead, left him, and his daughter perceiving that he look'd up, called to the coatchman to help to lift up; for there was lyfe in him as yet. They overhearing this, they not far removed, returne; which when he understood he groan'd highly, and falls upon him with their swords, giving him deadly wounds, whereof he dyes. Some reported that his body was not pierced with the ball, only that blae spotts were seen on him by the chyrurgeons. These having done this fact, take

their way through Fife, and come down by Kippen, and through Killern, Straithblane, and Campsie, and crosses at Bothwell Bridge, and goes in to the south, and so joyn with these that kepted field meetings with armes. As they came through Kippen they happen'd to come on the Sabbath-day, when there was a field meeting on the hight of a hill, and some carrying arms, as swords and guns, on which day they welcomed all that came by saluting them, and encouraging them to fight, if any soldiers should come from Stirling, which, indeed, happen'd to come to pass on that day. They heartened the people to shoot down on the horsemen, and the women and men that wanted weapons to cast down stones upon them.

The bishop was buried at St Andrews, with his bloody gown hung on a pole before the herse in a man's hand.*

* The archbishop's murder was preceded by a prodigy, which is thus related by Robert Barclay of Urie, son of the apologist for the Quakers:—"Upon the third of May, 1679, as he was travelling home from Edinburgh in his coach, he was murdered. It being very remarkable, that some few days before the murder, Robert Barclay being upon a journey to the yearly meeting at Edinburgh, in company with his wife's sister, and they being early on horseback, at the East Ferry, as they passed by the kirk, (which belonged to the archbishop) close by the end of the town, they heard a most terrifying howling noise, which was astonishing; upon which they sent the servant to look into it through the windows, who could then perceive nothing; but no sooner returned to them than the noise began again, and continued till they rode out of hearing. This account both he and his sister gave immediately after, and she, in my hearing, repeated the same, but a few years ago, to a company visiting her at her own house in Newcastle, consisting of Quakers and others. This I mention as matter of fact, without any other reflection."

For Sharp's dream respecting his future life and tragical end, see Kirkton's History, p. 82. His dealings with the devil seem not to have been much suspected till after his death, when the fanaticks affirmed that his body was not pierced by the shot of the murderers, and that in his pockets were found many strange articles, which could only be magical. The accounts of these are various.—"A little purse with two pistol-bullets; a little ball made up of all colours of silk, like an ordinary plumb;

May 1679, the field meetings in the west turning so tumultuous, as that many of the people were in arms, the estates order'd some troupes of horse to notice them; betwixt whom there were some skirmishes and blood on both sides. Att length they draw to some number, having over them Rott. Hamilton, brother to Preston Hamilton, and come down to Rougland, and there put out the bonfyres on the 29th of May, kept for the king's birth and restoration day, and publish their declaration and causes of rying, disclaiming the king and his interests, and that they did rise to bring down the bishops. Some few dayes after they fall in upon Glasgow, where my Lord Ross with 800 men were baricaded at the cross, and were repulsed by him, and some killed. This done they cross the water at Bothwell Bridge, and severalls gather to them even from Fife, Kippen, and other parts about on the north syd, as well as from the west, south, and east, and there they incampe; the country about sent them victualls. Att length Mr Welch comes to them with supplyes of men and horse from Galloway and Carrick. He emmittes a declaration, wherein he recites the great injuries done to the church in introducing of prelats, the casting out of the ministrie, and imposing on folk's consciences, the great op-

a bit of parchment a finger-breadth in length, with two long words written upon it which none could read, though the characters were like Hebrew or Chaldaic." *Life of Mr W. Veitch*.—Russel, in his narrative of the murder, affirms that these articles were in a cloak-bag, which rather discredits the idea that they were worn for prevention of gun-shot wounds; and mentions a copper dollar, two turners, two stamps, "and some yellow-coloured thing, like to pairings of nails, which would not burn." In another account, it is said that the pistol-balls, parings of nails, and other charms, were in the primate's tobacco-box, from which, on its being opened, there flew forth an humble bee, the familiar spirit of this arch magician, whose skill in sorcery could not ward off the fatal blows of nine desperate ruffians, fortified with supposed inspiration, and the diabolical madness of the Covenant.

pressions of the land, &c. as the cause of their rying; but yet with-
all includes the king's interest, as did the League and Covenant,
for he keeps by the same words; and forces the printer of Glasgow
to print it, and then they published it. This raised a great heat
among themselves, for Mr Welch and some ministers with him were
for declaring for the king's interest according to the covenant,
Rott. Hamilton, their governour, with Mr Kid, Mr Douglass, two
probationers, and others that followed heir way, were for disclaim-
ing the king and his interest. Some of their preachers were confi-
dent of victory, and prophesied so far to their hearers, particularly
Mr Cargill. This poor multitude, so led with divided and dividing
pastors, at lenth come to battell on the 8th of June 1679, viz. on the
Sabbath day. The states having raised the militia in the north, and
gathered together all the trained bands, with four canons, the king
also having sent down the Duke of Monmouth, his son, with some
Englishes, he commanded in chief the king's forces; and having a
great tenderness towards the poor misled multitude, he offered them
peace on condition of laying down their armes and going home,
and to deall with the king for satisfaction to their demands, in what
he could; but all could not avall with Mr Cargill, Kid, Dowglass,
and other witless men amongst them, to hearken to any proposals of
peace. Among others, that Douglas, sitting on his horse and preach-
ing to the confused multitude, told them that they would come to
terms with them, and like a dron-bee, always dronning on these
terms with them;—they wold give us a half Christ, but we will
have a whole Christ, and such lyke impertinent speeches as these,
good enough to feed those that are fed with wind, and not with the
sincere milk of the word of God. Monmouth, finding that they
had refused termes of peace, gives orders to fall on. Robert Ha-
milton, who was their generall before, now declynes to govern them,
so that every one of them are left to themselves. There were about

three hundred of them that kept the pass of the Bridge of Bothwell, for there was the fight, and did it very stoutly ; but when they cry'd for help, Hammilton declyned to send any ; and when the king's forces were coming over the bridge, there goes off five or 600 men to meet them. But Hammilton calls them back, telling them we will give them fair play, and so suffered them to advance, which, when they had done with their cannon, the king's forces fyres ; and on the first fyre of the cannon, Robert Hamilton turnes his back, and all the horsemen fled with him, leaving the foot to be cutt down, which, when the Duke of Monmouth perceives, he gives orders to spare the poor countrymen, and yet, notwithstanding, there was cutt down that day 800 of them, and 300 taken prisoners. Among them that were taken was Mr Kid, and after him Mr King, two of the preachers, and were afterwards execute att Edinburgh. Many of them that were taken were sent abroad and perished by sea. These people, whiles they were agathering, ranged through all the country and citys they could come at, and took all the arms, gunns, and swords they could, and best horse, without recompense.

The king's majesty being very sensible of the dislike the people of Scotland had at bishops and conformist ministers, and that they were always the ground of their rying in arms, he emitts an act of indemnity of all intercommuned persons, field-preachers, and even of these that were at the late rebellion, on condition they find bond for peaceable behaviour for the future, which some took, and others refused to take ; and a proclamation of liberty for ministers to preach in all the congregations of the land besouth the Tay, in houses that were of the Presbyterian persuasion, conditionally, if the parishioners give bond of their living peaceably ; whereupon the ministrie mett at Edinburgh, some out of all the presbytries anist Tay, to see what was fitt to be done, and then conclude that the gentlemen may very warrantably appear before the magistrate,

and desire the benefit of the king's favour may be extended towards the ministers they call. Also they conclude the bond of living peaceably was innocent, and a scripturall phrase; and if gentlemen gave that bond for their ministers, they had not reason to stumble at them, for it was concluded by the whole meeting, only four or five being non-liquets. There was excepted out of the liberty, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Stirling, and ordained that no meeting-house should be within two myles of them.

On this some parishioners called back their ministers, and were officiating amongst them for near a yeir's tyme, for the removing of whom from their ministrie, the bishops mett at Edinburgh, and sent up Bishop Paterson to court, to make moyand there, either to gett this new liberty to the ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion recalled, or else so cautioned as that the ministers themselves might refuse to embrace it for the future. He making his moyand, brings back thir following articles to the councell: 1. That if any of the chief men of the parish be regular, that parish shall have no indulged minister. 2. That no meeting-house shall be within a myle of the kirk, where there is a regular incumbent. 3. That no minister shall have liberty to officiat in his own parish. 4. No liberty for exercise of discipline. 5. No liberty for baptizing of children. 6. No liberty for marrying of any person, and that there should be no meeting-house within 12 myles of Edinburgh; whereupon Mr John Sten was discharged preaching at Newbottle, and the meeting-house at Killpatrick-Easter was demolished, becaus it was near to the kirk; so that, in effect, this new indulgence was upon the matter recalled, but the former indulgence, as yet, stood.

The former and late indulgence did no way relish with some brethren abroad over seas, to wit, Mr John Brown, and Mr Robert M'Ward. The first wrote a book against it, and the last prefaced to it, wherein they condemn the practice of the brethren of the

Presbyterian persuasion in the church, who had accepted of that indulgence first and last, condemning them for Errastian compliance with the magistrat, but miserably mistakes the question; and in some pamphlets they stick to call the meetings of the ministers of our church in Scotland, which were *sub cruce* kept, Errastian synagogues; all which were solidly answered by some judicious and learned brethren of our church: and some young men expectants, such as Mr Cameron, and Mr Hog, and others, to whom the ministrie denied ordination here, because of their corrupt principles and practices, and the want of a call from the people to particular congregations, going over to Holland, received a lame ordination by them to the ministrie; and contrarie to all discipline in our church, were admitted ministers of the church of Scotland, without assignment to any particular congregation, or call of the people to any; and here they show themselves prelates, in following prelatick practices, who use, especially in England, to ordain men to the ministrie without designation of any particular charge and flock over which they are sett. And Mr M'Ward, by his missives to some of his acquaintances in this land, wherein he wrytes to them to discountenance the indulged brethren, and not to hear them preach, nor to receive the sacraments from them, did much hurt in this church; the unstable and ignorant people thereby separat themselves from the communitie of the saints, and forsake the assemblies of God's people, and did reject ordinances and submission to their ministers in the Lord. This hott-mynded man, (otherways a man of parts and learning) through his mistakes, having received misinformations of the state of our kirk here, kindled a great fire; the unstable not knowing whom to believe, nor what hand to turn to, were easilie seduced, though it was not so with the more stable, judicious, and solid Christians; so that a great heat of contention was among people in our cities at Edinburgh and Glasgow, and in the country, particularly besouth Clyd water; some earnestly and

vehemently contending against the indulgence and indulged brethren, others sober, that judged it their mercy to have the gospell preached to them with freedom and liberty. These that were against it were for field-preachings, meetings, and tumults, and people's rising in arms to oppugne the magistrats and bishops, the indulged, and all that were for them, as the sequell will clear. For these men, Mr Cameron, Mr Hog, Mr Dowglass, and others, with Mr Donald Cargill, Mr Dickson, and others of that new faction, were much animated by Mr M'Ward to come over to Scotland, and to preach up armes among the people, which they did, and gathered some. Anno 1680, they enter in a sacred bond, as they call it, in which bond they disclaim all interest in the king, accounting him a tyrant and vicegerent of Sathan, and therefore deservedly ought to be cast off, and in which they bind themselves (if ever God give them power) and their associats and followers, to root out the king and all the royal race, and not to be governed by any single person whatsoever; and to root out the nobles of the land, and severly to censure all the indulged ministers, unless their repentance prevent it. But for the king and nobles, they allow them no mercie upon thair repentance; for in that paper they deny they can repent, being men given up of God, as they affirme; and in their bond does promise to set up another government more conducive to the good of the commonwealth, and other ministers more faithfull to the church. Thus ye see to what a prodigious hight of errour these men run. But amongst other bad principles they maintained, this one is to be much noticed, that not only they are for cutting off the king, nobles, and ministers, but for the killing (if they have power) of all that are not for their way, which principle they putt in practice on some; for one of the king's dragouners, of the name of Cunninghame, being lodged in the west, after a day's travell, some of them of Cameron's partie being sett on him (as it's reported) by the man of the house where he lodged that night, killed him with-

out mercie; and, as is the custom of the barbarous Highlanders, every man of the company thrust through him with their swords, and so mangled his dead corps, that all might be a lyke guilty. His comerad, who was lodged in another house near by, having notice thereof by his more honest landlord, fled, and so escaped their fury, the people also about helping him in his flight. Being asked by the people, why they did so to any in cold blood? they answered, they were obliged to do so by their sacred bond. Another instance of this; about the same time there was one that followed them some short time, and hearing of their principles, detested their company, and so left them and took him to his calling; and on a certain day, a little thereafter, he travelling through these bounds where some of them were, with a pack of wool, they fell on him and killed him dead, and used him as they did the other; his brother having notice of it, carries in the pack to Glasgow, and reports the murder of his brother in the manner foresaid. All these reports coming to General Dalyell, commander of the king's forces, he sends out a troupe of dragoons, with some troupers, to find them out. In July, their parties being divided, some with Mr Cargill, others with Cameron, they light upon the partie that was with Mr Cameron, near Moorkirk, on the 22d day of July, 1680, being at their breakfast, and having out no scout-watch, (only a herd man from a hill gave them notice of the approach of the king's partie,) so that they were in a manner surprised, yet gott they to their horses, and drew up to meet them. It's reported they desired Mr Cameron to flee off, but he refused to do it. After a sharp rancounter, Mr Cameron and his brother, with another, were shott dead. His party was discomfited after an hour's disput. Amongst others that were taken and sent in to Edinburgh, David Haxton of Rathillet was one, who was alledged to have been accessory to the murder of Bishop Sharp. The king's party cut off Mr Cameron's head and right hand, and sent them to Edinburgh. These parties that took up armes

at this tyme in this yeir, as in the last yeir, —79, were most of them male-contents, persons intercommuned, denounced and laying at the king's horn, and men forfeited of their estates, because of keeping conventicles in former tymes. Others joyn'd with them for their help, supposing thereby to bring down prelacie; and they were men either excluded from the king's favours, from acts of indemnitie, or else such men as would not accept of his favours. These ministers that stirr'd up the people, pretended they were the only pure and sound presbyterians in the land, with these that followed them; and all other ministers and people, whether indulged or not indulged, that did not follow their way, were apostats and backslyders from the truth, and this they stood not on to preach and say; whereas there was never any among the prelates pretended to more authority, and practised more prelatick practices, than these did; for they disowned the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, run upon ministers' charges at will, made rents and divisions amongst the people, and made it their work to separat them from their ministers and the congregationall assemblies, and gloried when their principles took any footing in the land; and, indeed, they gain'd upon the unsolid and unstable professors more than could have been expected.

After this fight, there was an dragouner that passing by beside Lanerick calls to an house of his acquaintance, and the wife of the hous coming out in a shew of kyndness, takes him in her armes, and desyres him to alight. Meanwhile, when he is lighting, her husband comes out, and draws out his own sword, and kills him dead, ript him up, takes out his heart, and setts on a poll, in recompense of what was done to Cameron; for the king's partie had carried in his head to Edinburgh on a pole.* This Haxton of Rathillet being

* These detestable barbarities of plucking out the heart, or otherwise mangling the dead body, but too frequently pollute the Criminal Records of Scotland.—About the year 1623, a murder was committed by some villains of the Clan-Macfarlane, with

taken, who, as was alledged, was one of the assassins of Bishop Sharp, and carried into Edinburgh, was examined by the chancel-

circumstances so very atrocious and horrific, that they are well nigh incredible to modern humanity and refinement.—The details are thus given by Lord Fountainhall in his MS. abridgement of the Record.

“ Macfarlines as brethers against Buchananes, for slaughter of their brother, appeir- and of Macfarline. Continued by a warrant from the Lords of Privy Counsell, proceeding on a supplication given in by the Laird of Buchanane and his friends, where the whole narration is deduced thus.—The Laird of Macfarline with his clan being most notorious thieves, putting all the king's liedges in the Lennox in fear of them, umquhile William Buchanane for the weill of the county gets some of the stollen goods spiered out, and at leist gets it discovered that the Macfarlines ware the thieves, who through fear of justice ware constrained to restitutione: whereupon they conceived a most deadly hatred against the gentleman, and knowing he went sometymes to the hunting on the muire above the Duchar, they with some lawles limmars watch him one day their, where being without any companie but of four dogs, they lay hold upon him, bind him hands and feet; then consults how they should dispatch him: resolves that, because of his malapertnes to speir out the goods stollen by them, he deserved a extraordinar and unaccustomed death by tortor. By the space of ten howers they tor- tered him. They band him to a trie: and at every hower they gave him three cruell strocks or wounds with a durk, yet in such parts of his body as ware not to bring pre- sent death: This they did from ten in the morning to six at night, so that he received thirty sick stroaks, wherewith he was mangled all: They then gave him the deidly strok at the heart; then took him from the trie, tirmed him naked, cut his throat, pull- ed out his tongue and cut it out, because (forsooth) it was the instrument whereby he offended them in spiering out, &c.; then slew his four doges, cutted out one of their tongues, put it in the gentleman's mouth, and put his in the dog's; then slited up his bellie, and took out his entrails and put them in one of the dog's bellies, and put the dog's intrailles in unto his bellie. Thus they left him, the four doges laying dead about him, and he being missed, eight days after was found their. After this cruell and barbarous murther, they continuing in the old wonted way of thieving, and on night he and his sone having stollen ane ox from George Buchannan, the pannell, who getting notice that they ware in such a place with it, pursues them, with the Earle of Perth's officers assisting him. The limmars disguised themselves in womens' cloathes, thinking soe to have escaped. We had no suspicion of them when they came first out, but seeing them not keep the ordinar pace of women, we begane to follow them at a

lour, and being asked whether that assassination of Bishop Sharp was murder? answered, Not. These men strengthen their principle from that practice done against Cardinal Beaton in the beginning of the Reformation, which was disowned by all our reformers;* though they were content he was away, yet dislyked they the deed; but thir folk 'count it no murder to kill these they reckon enemies to their cause. One of their number falling into a house in Renfrew, told a woman, that now since they were beatt they would divyd themselves in parties, less or more, and fall upon these that were not of their way, and cutt them off. To this hight of iniquitie were they come.

This fight being over, General Dalyell sends out all his troops of horse, to the number of five or six troops, to search after the rest. Report is that they are gone to Kyntyre to scatter and lurk. Before this fight some of them came to Sanchar town, and publish'd their declaration, affixing it on the Cross, disclaiming the king and all interest in him; and it was to the same purpose with their bond and covenant.

May 1680. Great lightning and thunder, with a great shower of hailstones, was at London, the lyke whereof has not been in man's memory. The hailstones were about fifteen inches round, as was related, and in their falling did hurt to some, and killed others.

soft pace, which they perceiving, they turned upon us, and most furiously each of them discharges a hagbut against us, which both, by God's providence, miscarried, then most cruellie invaded us with their swords. We thought it no more time to stand still, but rather that law and reason required us to do something in our own defence, *vim vi repellendo*; thrie of us was sore wounded, wheirupon we charging them, at last the father and the sone was both slayne. Now we ought not to be called in question for aither of thir slaughters, seeing the father was at the horne for the murder mentionate, and his sone accompanied him in all his thifts and slaughters. *Item*, both ware in our own defence."

* Not by Knox, certainly, else has his history been basely interpolated.

In this yeir does the Earle of Argile possess the Isleand of Mull without disturbance.

This yeir also does the heir of Caithness raise men against the Laird of Glen norchie, who had comprised the state, and possessed himself by law. Glenorchy, at the king's command, raises forces out of his own lands, and with the help of some men from Argile, (taking an exemple from the M'Leans), to the number of 4 or 500, and falls upon the Caithness men, and discomfits them, and peaceably possesses the estate according to law. He is married to the deceased Caithnes' lady, Argile's sister.

The summer was very good, and the crop very promising. The last year's crop in the west of Scotland was not birthie, and if meall had not been brought in fra the north, there had been a great scarcitie in the west, if not a famine; but the north supply'd that want, blessed be God, who if one part of the land wants, he supplies it with another.

This Haxton of Rathillet in Fyfe, of whom mention is made above, suffered at Edinburgh, the 30th day of July 1680, his armes being cut off, then was hung by the neck a little tyme, and thereafter taken doun, and his bowells ript up, his heart taken out, and all burnt on the scaffold. Afterward he was dismembered, and a leg sent to St Andrews; he having confess'd aforehand that he was in the company of these that killed Bishop Sharp of St Andrews, but denied he laid any hands on him. Being enquired by the chancellour, whether he was guilty or not? He replyed, he looked not on them as judges, nor on the king as king, and therefore would not tell them; and this he did according to the new mode of their principles. When he was asked by the chancellour, whether he thought the killing of the bishop of St Andrews was murder? he answered, He thought not, because he was a perjured prelat. When the good man of the tolbooth asked him, if he desired a minister to speak with him, and offer'd to gett him one of

the presbyterian persuasion, (knowing he wold not speak with any conformist minister), he answer'd, Not, for he knew no minister was faithfull. These of his faction were come this length. Being interrogat by the chancellour, if he own'd the king's authority? his answer was, that where authority disownes the interest of God, and states itself in opposition to Jesus Christ, it is no more to be owned, and he fear'd that the authority of the king was such. Being ask'd, if he own'd the new covenant taken at Queensferry from Cargill, one of their field preachers? he declared that he own'd it; adding, that he would fain know what any person had to say against it. Being interrogat, if he were at liberty, and had power to kill any of the king's councell, whether he would murder them as he had murdered the late archbishop of St Andrews? he said, he was not clear to give any answer to that. Being urged by the lord chancellor with severall questions, he refused to answer; but shortly after he said, That if he might have liberty to speak he would give an answer; which being very freely allowed unto him, he made a short speech, wherein he said, That he stood there as a prisoner for Jesus Christ, and for adhering to his cause and interest, which had been sealed by the blood of many persons that had suffer'd lately in this land, and that he owned all the testimonies given by them. Being asked by some of the councell, What he could answer to the article of the confession of that faith, which he pretended to owne, bearing that infidelitie and difference in religion did not make void the magistrates' right? he answered, That that article of the Confession of Faith was cleared by the Solemn League and Covenant, which obliged only to maintain the king in maintainance of religion. All this being read to him in face of the councell, he owned the same in every particular, but refused to sign it; whereupon the lord chancellor, by order of the councell, signed it for him.

This Haxton was brought in to Edinburgh in this manner: At the Water-gate he was received by the common hangman in his

livery, and was (uncovered) sett upon a lean bare horse, with his face toward the horse-taill, his feet tyed under the horse's-belly, and his hands tyed behind his back. Thus mounted, the hangman (with his cape on, and carrying Camron's heid on the top of a halbard) led him (while the other three prisoners were carried bare heided, and tyed to a bar of iron) to the Councill-chamber, where they were examined. The head of one Foullar, commander of their foot, was also struck off, and taken in to Edinburgh.

September 1680, there was a plott of the papists and Irishes for cutting off the English and Scotts, man, wife, and child, discovered by the confession of the popish primat, who being sick and near death, fell in a remorse, and so confess'd it that the jesuits were plotting to raise the Irishes to cutt off all; and that the Jansenians, though for the plott, yet they were not for the manner of the execution, for they judged to cutt all of was cruelty. The popish primat Plunket was sent for by the king's councill at London to be examined, having aforehand been secured by Sir Arthur Forbess, now Lord Granade.

Upon the 15th of September 1680, being the Lord's day, did Mr Donald Cargill, (who incited the people to the rebellion at Bodwell), keep a conventicle in the Torrwood, and there at his own hand, pope-lyk, did excommunicat the King, Duke of York, Duke of Monmouth, the Chancellor Rothes, the King's Advocat, and Generall Dalzell, and the Lord Rosse. Some of his hearers told he grounded his sentence on 1 Cor. v. Some of them fixed copies of it on the Mercat-cross of Edinburgh, and the doors of the Parliament-house, and other remarkable places. Also they reported, that there were moe yet to be excommunicated. O, whither shall our shame go, at such a hight of folly are some men arrived!

Anno 1662. When the Lord Middleton was commissioner, George Grant, then attending him in the Abbay, fell very sick, and there being one James Petty, late baillie of Munross, there, the said George,

nobody being in the room, and he awake, sees a man sett on a whyt horse come in to him, with his eyes lyke flammes of fyre, and had this speech to him, I, James Peddy, late bailie of Munross, summons you, George Grant, to compeir before Beelzebub, the prince of the hells, within forty-eight hours. This he stood affraid of all that space, and when it was over told it; whereupon Midleton named James Pedie always afterward the devil's postilio. The man being ashamed of his nickname, stole away home to Munross, his own country. A seasonable warning, if George Grant had taken it. He dies at the Castle of Dumbarton, being lieutenant there, in November 1680.

The late Lord Midleton, in the yeir 1650, being in company with the Laird of Barbigno in Stirling, before the fight at Dunbar, in a drunken rant, covenanted one with another, that which of them dyes first should come to the surviving person, and give him newes from the dead. This Balbegno dying first, the devil in his lykness comes to Midleton, when he was prisoner at London, and putts him in mind of his covenant, and now that he had come to fulfill it; and told him he should be once a great man, and should escape prison; but advyses him to take heid of his end. So it fell out; he was afterward, at the king's return, made commissioner to his parliament in Scotland; but was outed by the Lord Laderdaill, and sent over by the king to Tangiers to be governour of it, where, upon a certain tyme, he proving a young horse, was cast off by him, and in the fall hurt himself exceedingly, so that he sickens, and dyes of it.

Plumashes above, and gramashis below,

Its no wonder to see how the world doth go.*

* Aubray, in his Miscellanies, relates the story of the apparition in the Tower, and adds, that after the spirit had delivered his message, he gave a frisk, and said,—

“Givanni, Givanni! 'tis very strange

In this world to see so sudden a change,”

July 1679. The Duke of Lauderdale and Duke Hamilton having had severall hearings at the councell-board at London, Lauderdale prevailed in all debates, and cleared himself in all the particulars he was charged with, and there the king declared, that, upon full hearing of what could be said against the Duke of Laderdaill, it appears that in all things he has behaved himself as becomes him; and the report goes that some thing to this effect will be printed at his majesty's command.—July 1679, was fyre in the park in Southwark at London, suspected to [have] been kindled by a papist lately come there, in whose trunk were severall fyre-balls found.

Anno 1680. The popish primat of Ireland, Plunket to his surname (an unhappy name to Ireland, of the English Irish stock; for there was one Collonell Plunkett that designed with others of the Irishes' papists for the seizure of Dublin Castle, the 23d October 1641, in the intended first massacre*) being takin by Sir Arthur

which probably is another reading of the lines above. Kirkton says, "That Lord Middleton used to assert that a certain palmister, whom he met with in his youth, had predicted his elevation to the supreme command of his country; but the end of this prediction he always concealed, which made his companions suspect it was tragical, as afterwards it did indeed prove."—*History*, p. 67.

* Temple, in his *History of the Irish Rebellion*, records the following terrific evidence respecting apparitions seen in the river after the massacre of the Protestants at Portadowne Bridge:—"Dec. 20, 1641. The Irish rebels did drown an hundred and eighty Protestants, men, women, and children, in the river of the Bridge of Portnedowne; and Elizabeth, the wife of Captain Rice Price, deponeth, and saith, 'that she and other women, whose husbands were murdered, (hearing of divers apparitions and visions which were seen near Portnedowne-Bridge, since the drowning of their children, and the rest of the Protestants there,) went unto the bridge aforesaid about twilight in the evening; then and there, upon the sudden, there appeared unto them a vision, or spirit, assuming the shape of a woman waist-high, upright in the water, naked, with elevated and closed hands, her hair hanging down, very white, her eyes seemed to twinkle, and her skin as white as snow; which spirit seemed to stand straight up in the water, crying, 'Revenge! Revenge!' whereat this deponent and the

Forbes, now Lord Grannade, chief commander of the forces under Ormond, in order to his sending to London for tryall, anent the late

rest being put into a strange amazement and fright, walked from the place." This was sworn to, Jan. 29, 1642. In the Examination of Dr Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Kilmore, (22d August, 1642) printed at the end of the Dismal Effects of the Irish Insurrection, "the deponent saith, that it was common table-talk amongst the rebels, that the ghosts of Mr William Fullerton, Timothy Jephes, and the most of those who were thrown over Portadown-Bridge, were daily and nightly seen to walk upon the river, sometimes singing of psalms, sometimes brandishing of naked swords, and sometimes screeching in a most hideous and fearful manner. The deponent did not believe the same at first, and yet is doubtful whether to believe it or not; but saith that divers of the rebels assured him that they themselves did dwell near to the said river, and being daily frightened with those apparitions, (but especially with their horrible screeching) were, in conclusion, forced to remove further into the country. Their own priests and friars could not deny the truth thereof; but as oft as it was by the deponent objected unto them, they said, that it was but a cunning slight of the devil to hinder this great work of propagating the catholick faith, and killing of hereticks; or that it was wrought by witchcraft. The deponent himself lived within thirteen miles of the bridge, and never heard any man so much as doubt of the truth thereof; howsoever the deponent obligeth no man's faith, in regard he saw it not with his own eyes; otherwise he had as much certainty as morally could be required of such a matter. And the deponent further saith, that the first three days and nights of this present rebellion, viz. October 23d, 24th, and 25th, it was generally observed that no cock crew, nor any dog was heard to bark, no, not when the rebels came in great multitudes unto the protestant's houses by night to rob and murther them; and about three or four nights before the six and fifty persons were taken out of the deponent's house and drowned, and amongst those the deponent's brother, Lieutenant James Maxwell, in the dark of the moon, about one of the clock at night, a light was observed in manner of a long pillar, to shine for a long way through the air, and refracted upon the north gabel of the house. It gave so great a light about an hour together, that divers of the watch read both letters and books of a very small character thereby; the former the deponent knoweth to be true both by his own experience, and the general observation of as many as the deponent met with within the county of Armagh; the latter was seen by all those of the deponent's family, and besides by many of his Irish guard; (for some of them at that time were drunk, and could see nothing,) who inter-

plott of the Irishes against the English and Scotts, did publicly declare, they should not befooll his heid off his neck as they did Collman's; to which Grannade reply'd, Do so, and make a clean breast.

October 1680. In one week's tyme, dyed, first, the Lady Kilburnie, daughter to the late laird of it, on the 12th of that instant, and her husband, the laird, second son of the Earl of Lindsay, who gott that estate by marrying this laird's daughter, dies also upon the 15th of that instant, both of a feaver. The Sabbath before, they were at the celebration of the Lord's supper at the kirk of Beeth. The death of thir spouses was much lamented by all sorts of people. They left seven children behind them; within a few days after, the Lady Blackhall, her sister, being infected with the same disease, (for it was a pestilentious feaver) and coming to Killburnie to wait on the funeralls, she also dyes there.

In Ireland, there was one Thomas Moor, who had his wife brought to bed of a child, and not having made use of her former midwife, who was *malæ famæ*, she was witched by her so that she dies. The poor man resenting it, she was heard to say, that that was nothing to that which should follow. She witches him also, so that a certain tyme of the day, towards night, the devil did always trouble him, once every day for the space of 10 or 12 yeirs, by possessing his body, and causing it to swell highly, and tearing him so that he foamed, and his face turned about to his neck, having a

preted the same to be an immediate expression and token of Divine Providence, and watchfulness over the protestants, affirming that many times the rebels had purposed to destroy the deponent and his family, but were always hindered and interrupted, but which way themselves could not tell; but the deponent (as is well known) made a far contrary interpretation thereof, which shortly after fell out to be the truer of the two; for (presaging thereby that bloody massacre which ensued) the deponent, with the rest of his family, gave themselves to fasting and prayer, expecting each hour that universal cutting off, which fell out very shortly after."

most fearfull disfigured visage! at which tyme he was held by strong men, out of whose grips when he gott, he wold have rushed his head against the wall, in hazard of braining himself, and wold have leaped up and down fearfully, tumbling now and then on the ground, and cryed out fearfully with a wyld skirle and noise, and this he did ordinarily for the space of ane hour; when the fitt was over, he was settled as before; and without the fitt he was in his right mynd, and did know when it came on him, and gave notice of it, so that these appoynted for keeping of him prepared for it. He was, by appointment of the ministers, sent from parish to parish for the ease of his keepers. At lenth, people being wearied with waiting on him, they devysed a way for ease, which was to put him in a great chyer fitted for receiving of his body, and so ordered it that it clasped round about so that he could not get out, and then by a pillue drew him up off the ground; and when the fitt came on, (of whilk he still gave warning) put him in it and drew him up, so that his swinging to and froo did not hurt him, but was kept till the fitt went over save fra danger, and then lett down till that tyme of the next day, when the fitt recurred. Many came to see him in his fitts, but the sight was so astonishing that few desired to come again. He was a man of a good report, yet we may see givin up to Satan's molestation by the wise and soveraigne God. Complaints were givin in against her for her malefices to the magistrat there, but in England and Ireland they use not to judge and condemn witches upon presumptions, but are very sparing as to that. He was alive in the year 1679.

In Ireland also, some yeirs before this, Mr John Shaw, minister, was much troubled with witches, one of them appearing in his chamber and showing her face behind his cloke hanging on the clock-pin, and then stepping to the door, disappeared. He was troubled with cats coming into his chamber and bed; he sickens

and dyes; his wyfe being dead before him, and, as was supposed, witched. Before his death, his man going out to the stable on night, sees as it had been a great heap of hay rolling toward him, and then appeared in the shape and lykness of a bair. He charges it to appear in human shape, which it did. Then he asked, for what caus it troubled him? It bid him come to sic a place, and it should tell him, which he ingaged to do, yet ere he did it, acquainted his master with it; his master forbids him to keep such a tryst; he obeyed his master, and went not. That night he should have kept, there is a stone cast at him from the roof of the house, and only touches him, but does not hurt him; whereupon he conceives that had been done to him by the devill, becaus he kept not tryst; wherefore he resolutely goes furth that night to the place appointed, being a rash bold fellow, and the divill appears in human shape, with his heid running down with blood. He asks him again, why he troubled him? The devill replies, that he was the spirit of a murdered man who lay under his bed, and buried in the ground, and who was murdered by such a man, naming him by name, living in sic a place 20 yeirs ago. The man comes home, searches the place, but finds nothing of bones, or any thing lyke a grave, and causes send to such a place to search for such a man, but no such man could be found, and shortly after this man dyes. It's not good to come in communing terms with Satan, there is a snare in the end of it, but to resyst him by prayer and faith, and to turn a deaf ear to his temptations.

December 1, 1680, one ——— Skien, brother to the Laird of Skien, and related to the Earl of Marr and other noblemen, and one Stewart, a skipper's son, of Borroustounness, and one Potter, all three being formerly apprehended, did, before the king's counsell at Edinburgh, adhere to the late covenant, and Sanchar declaration; and being questioned, whether they would kill the king and his

counsellors, if it were in their power? answered affirmatively, they would. They suffered death the said day at Edinburgh; the two last having their heads cutt off after they were hanged, the friends of the first having pled that his head might not be cutt off and fixed with the rest.* One poor man, present at his execution, declared his adherence to their opinions, and was seized on and made prisoner; another of that gang sett upon the Earl of Marr's servant, carrying home some things to his lady. He was a webster, and meeting with the Laird of Grange, setts upon him also in the way, and told him he would kill him, because he was an enemy to God and his people, and struck att him with his sword. The gentleman shoots a pistol at him to fright him fra him, but the more eager he grew upon him. At length the gentleman rode him down and apprehended him. All these deeds they justify, and affect a martyrdom as did the donatists of old; much lyke are they to Peter Burchet, who, in Queen Elizabeth's tyme, in England, an. 1573, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, he maintained this frantick opinion, that it was lawful to kill them that opposed the truth of the gospel, and so far was he possessed with this opinion, that he assaulted the famous seaman, Captain Hawkins, and wounded him with a dagger, taking him for Hatton, who at that tyme was in great favour with the queen and of the privy councell, whom he had been

* "James, brother to the Laird of Skeen, Archibald Stewart, skipper in Burrowstounness, and Hamilton in Broxburn, and Sprewell, apothecarie in Glasgow, are apprehended. Skeen gave in a petition to the councell for a reprieve, which was granted to 1st December; but having repented thereof, he, Potter, and Stewart were all three hanged at Edinburgh Cross, the 1st December 1680, Skeen being all cloathed in white linnin to his very shoes and stockings, in affectation of innocencie. Mr John Lauder, younger of Fountainhall, went and conversed them in prison the day before their death, but they were so bigotted, that he could not get them convinced of their follis, but were all for cutting off the king."—LORD FOUNTAINHALL'S *Diary*, MS.

informed to be a great adversary to innovations; whereupon the queen caused send Burchet to the Tower, where, taking a brand out of the fyre, he stuck it into the braines of one of his keepers, named Hew Longworth, and killed him, for which fact he was condemned of murder, and his ryt hand cut off and nailed to the gallows, and then himself was hanged. Baker's Histor. p. 371. Bloody opinions and practices have for their event bloody ends to them that intertain and practise them, and indeed they are nothing else but the doctrine of Antichrist.

About this tyme Mr John Carstairs, formerly minister at Glasgow, being on a mistake taken and caryed before the councell, in a harrang he had unto them, avouched the authority of the king, and their authoritie under him, and disclaimed the ways of these men as Antichristian; and for his labour meets with reproach from all of that partie, and is looked on by them as a great apostate.

December 10, being Fryday, 1680, after sun-sett, there appeared in the west a comet, having a large broad and great streamer coming from it, the lyke was never seen or read of, and continued till the 16th or 17th day of January, growing smaller and smaller to it's end; was certainly prodigious of sad things to us, as all these ordinarily are, such as that comet seen above Jerusalem in shape of a sword, before her ruin and their division. *Joseph. Hist. de Bello Judaico.* And that comet that was seen when King James the Sixth was in England, enjoying that crown, an. 1619, in the east, betokened the great warrs in Germany that followed, and the great plague of London, in his days; and the civill warrs in Britain and Ireland that followed in his son's tyme, which he himself, when he saw it, foretold that the effects of it would light on Germany, and the dregs of it on his kingdoms. And that comet that was seen 1664, and the beginning of 65, towards the south, betokened the great warrs that were betwixt the English and Dutch fleets, and

the great plague of London, an. 66, and the great fyre of London. Then the great warrs the French had with the States of Holland, with Spain, and with the Emperour and the Princes of Germany, which, within a few yeirs, soon followed.

This comet, seen in December 1680, was seen on Friday, before the change of the moon, which change was on Saturday the 11th day, 17 minutes past 1 in the morning, and was perspicuously seen on Tuesday the 14th day; and being the 4th day of the moon, the night being clear and frosty, between 5 at night and 7, it sett in the west, and was seen in the south-east in the morning of the following days. This above-mentioned comet had a great blazing fra the root of it, was pointed as it came from the star, and then spread itself; was of a broad and large ascent up to the heavens, so that when it was sett in the west, and out of our sight, yet did the stream of it amount near to our zenith, and it kepted the course of the moon, setting in the west, and rying in the east a little before day; the stream of it all the night over is seen, and when day-light came, and the sun arisen, was not seen till the sun-setting, and had its recess from the west every night by degrees, as the moon has from the sun after her change, and being every night more elevat by degrees in its first appearance after day-light was gone, then the stream of it amounted to our zenith, and beyond it, very terribly and wonderfully. No history ever made mention of the lyke comet, and it is doubted if ever the lyke was seen since the creation, and is certainly prodigious of great alterations, and of great judgments on these lands and nations for our sins; for never was the Lord more provoked by a people than by us in these lands, and that by persons of all ranks. In the years 1678, 79, and 1680, was discovered a dangerous plott of the Papists in England, with the Papists abroad, in France, Spain, and Italie, the Pope then having chief hand in it, with the King of France, his confessor, and others

abroad of note, by Doctor Oatts, ane Englishman, who was Papist, but, upon remorse of conscience, converted from that way. He made the plot known to the King of Britain, and his counsell at England, which was to overturn our Protestant religion, and introduce poperie in these lands, and to bring these kingdoms in obedience to the see of Rome, and to kill the king first, and others of eminencie that stood for the protestant religion and faith; and this was reckon'd to have been the hundered and second plott since Queen Elizabeth her days. This plott was carrying on all these former years, even in our late troubles, always changing their methods ever as they saw occasion, and as they saw most expedient for the carrying on of it; so that when one shift failled, they betook themselves to another, untill at length the Lord detected and discovered it.

One Bedlo was another discoverer, who dyed on his bed, makes a full confession of all; the summ whereof was that the pope with his conclave had appointed a great armie in England of the Inglish papists, (to whom he promised assistance from abroad), having, under his hand write, appointed the generall, to witt, the Lord Bellise, or Bellasis, who is now taken prisoner upon this discovery, and lyes in the Tower of London, and all under officers by name, such as collonels, majors, captains, &c.; as also for the church of Britain and Ireland had appointed his metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops by name in all the severall dioceses; and Plunket being made metropolitan of Ireland, was apprehended, and sent over prisoner to London, and was put in the Towr on suspicion of the plott. Seve- rall papist priests and jesuits were discovered, and suffer'd death at London. Amongst others that suffer'd, there was one Colman, se- cretarie to the Duke of York, who before hand laboured to influence the king to dissolve his parliament, by emitting a large declaration, showing the reasons of it, falsly in it pretending favour to the pro-

testant interest, (as if he had been a zealous protestant), condemned and suffered for his conspiracie, and for signing letters to papists abroad in the name of his master the duke, persuading and urging for concurrence to the said plott. They went about to kill all that made any head against them for discovery of them; and particularly they kill Sir Edmond Godfrey, a justice of peace, who was appointed by the king's counsell to search after them, by training him out of his house to fall upon a meeting of the papists, and in the way kill him. This plott as it was long a hatching, so was it long ere it was fully discovered. An. 1680, the king's majesty having often aforehand adjurned and proroged his parliaments, and having at lenth dissolved them, the shires generally through England supplicat his majesty by their commissioners for a free parliament; which his majestie (though dislyking the way of their address) at last grants their desires, calls a parliament, and sets it down, October 21st; and in his speech shoves his readiness to concurr in all things that makes for religion, and the good of the kingdom, and desyres two things of them: 1st, That they would think on a subsidie for a supply to him; 2d, That they would not at this tyme medle with his successour to the crown. The Hous of Commons pass severall bills against papists, that they should all be removed off London twenty myles from it; that the chief leaders of them should be removed off the nation; that the Duke of York be removed off the kingdom, and not found in it, else to be apprehended. Att which tyme he comes to Scotland, is welcomed by our nobility, with a letter of thanks to our king for sending him down, promising to stand for the royall race with their lives and fortunes, subscribed by twenty-five of the nobility and state-officers, the president and Generall Dalyell, which when the House of Commons heard of, were displeased with it. They make a bill also that no papist shall succeed here to the crown, with severall others.

The king recommends to their tryall the five popish lords in the Tower, whom he had secured afore hand on suspicion of their accession to the plott. They beginn with the Viscount of Stafford, an old gentleman. He at length confesses the plott against religion, but not against the king's person. He is condemned by his peers, and suffer'd death the 29th of December, being by the king re-priv'd from the severity of the law, in ryping him up, and dismembring him, as is done to traittours there. There was one of that gang takes the boldness to write to the king, signifying to him, that if Stafford suffer'd, he should not live long after him. The king sends the letter to the parliament to peruse it. They search diligently for the man that wrote it, and finds him, and secures him.

They made also a bill, in case our king (as God forbid) should dye a sudden and violent death, his death should be charged on the papists, (since they found the plott strike at his life), and that they should be all rooted out of the nation.

The House of Commons sends two of their number with a paper to the king by way of address. To this address the king sends this following message to the House of Commons :—

Charles Rex. His majesty received the address of his House with all the dispositions that he could wish to comply with their reasonable desires; but upon perusing of it, he is sorry to see their thoughts wholly fixed to the bill of exclusion of the duke his brother, and to determining that all other remedies for suppressing of poperie will be ineffectual. His majesty is confirmed in his opinion about the duke by the judgment of the House of Lords, who rejected it. He therefor thinks there remains nothing for him more to say in answer to the address of this House, but to recommend to you the consideration of all other means for the preservation of the protestant religion, which they have no reason to doubt of his concurrence with, whenever it shall be presented to him in a parlia-

mentary way ; and that they wold consider the state of the kingdom, as well as of Christendom, in such a manner as may enable him to preserve Tangier, and secure his alliance abroad, and the peace and settlement at home.

The parliament of England makes a second address to the king, wherein they desire three things : 1st, That the Duke of York, his brother, should be declared not to be successor to the crown of England ; 2d, That all papists whatsoever should be bannished the kingdom ; 3d, That a mutuall bond for defence of religion should be pressed through the three kingdoms. At this tyme the States of Holland send over the envoys to our king, requesting him to adhere to his parliament now sitting, and to concurr with them in matters they had in hand.

December 25th, being Zooll day, the youths of the Colledge of Edinburgh having caused make the pope's effigies of timber, with a painted face, lyke a man, the head covered with a lyert pirewig, on his head a triple crown of timber, in his ryght hand a key and piece of money, in his left hand a cross and a lighted candle, and his body covered with a gown of stamped calligo, the belly bosse, and filled with powder, mounted on a chaire, was carryed by them up Blackfrier-wind, and burnt in the high town. This the Duke of York took ill, as a reflection on him, being then in the Abbay of Halyrudhous. The duke having advertisement of it before hand, desired the magistrates of the city to marr it, for report was givin out that it should have been done in the Grass-mercat. General Dallyell also brought in four companies of soldiers, and hearing they resolved to do it in the Abbay, he went down thither with his companies to marr it ; but they disappointed both the generall and the magistrats as to the place. Not that the magistrats nor generall disliked the deed itself simply considered, (for they are no papists) ; but as so circumstantiat, they could have wished it had been forborn

at that tyme, becaus they well knew that the duke and his dutches wold take it ill, and becaus also they were commanded by him to marr it.

January 9th, 1681, dyed Mr John Welch peaceably at London. January 10th, the king proroged the parliament till the 20th day of that instant.

January 1681, there was seen at Hamilton in the air, and also at Hadingtoun, fightings in the air. A man surnamed Zooll going from it late at nyght to his home, he in the road hears a voice not far distant from him, crying, The sword of the Lord, five times, at which the man was much affrighted and troubled.

22d January 1681, there was a proclamation at the Cross of Edinburgh, commanding all the students of the Colledge to remove off the town fifteen myles. This was done for burning the pope's effigie.* In February, the Colledge gates were ordained to be opened

* The students were also suspected of having had a hand in burning the house of Priestfield, an event thus recorded by Lord Fountainhall in his Diary :—" Sir James Dick, provost of Edinburgh, his house of Priestfield was burnt about 8 at night, 11th January 1681, by the Colliginers ; others said, by himself, which was false ; yet the Colledge gates were shut up, and the boys banished 15 myles from Edinburgh. Some alleadged that the interdict upon the Colledge was contrived by the bishop of Edinburgh, Paterson, to gett out Mr Andrew Cant from being Principall, and his brother Mr F. Paterson to have got his place."—Sir James Dick was as much noted for his avarice as for his loyalty.—In a MS. vol. of lampoons, written at various times, are these lines " upon Priestfield's great lead coffin."

" Death works great wonders now, the miser's dead,
And he that fed on silver's turn'd to lead ;
We fear he will not rest, because we're told,
He ne'er sleeps sound, except 'mongst baggs of gold ;
Perhaps he has retyred through perfect greed
T' extract quicksilver from the buried lead."

again, and that the scholars might convene, providing they took the oath of alledgeance and supremacie.—Anno 1680, came an elephant to Brittain, bought by the English merchants at 2000 lib. Sterling, and was sent through the island for sight to gain money ; never was there any elephant seen in Scotland before, and it was brought to Glasgow, January 1681, and was seen by many ; it was then eleven yeirs old ; a great beast with a great body, and a great head, small eyes and dull, lowged like two skats, lying closs to its heid, having a large trunk coming down fra the nether end of the forehead, of length a yard and a half, in the undermost part small, with a nostrill, by which trunk it breath'd and drank, casting up its meat and drink in its mouth below it, having two large and long bones or teeth of a yard length coming from the upper jaw of it, and at the far end of them inclyning one to another, by which it digs the earth for roots, and then with the trunk takes them up and casts them in the mouth under it, as it does all other meat it eats ; it was backed lyke a sow, the taill of it lyke to a cow's, the legs of it were big, lyke pillars or great posts, and broad feet, with toes lyke round lumps of flesh. It was a male that we saw, and was taught to flourish the collours with the trunk of it, and to shoot a gunn, and to bow the knees of it, and to make reverence with its big heid. They also rode upon it. Plinie writes of them, that they are ten yeirs in conception ere they bring forth, and that they live 200 years, and when its past 60, it is then but past its youth ; that they are chaste and honest to their dames, great lovers, and very sagacious creatures. In their countries they use to go to the battell with them, and fight on their backs. They grow till they be of 30 yeirs, and then are very big ; this was but ane young one, but of a monstrous great growth, though young. A man told me he saw one whose teeth weighed 250 weight. It has no hair upon the skin of it, but a rough tannie skin, and linking throughout all its body ; the trunk

of it lirks, and it contracts it, and draws it in, and dilates and lets it out, as it pleases; it comes down frae the foreheid and streatches out long, great at the root of it, and small at the end, and the nearer the end the smaller. Under it is its mouth, it opens it wide, and is able to receive a man's head in it; the tongue of it lyes close in it's mouth; the two bones, or teeth of it, as they come from the upper jaw, so they are extended in length before the mouth of it. It's feet are not hooved, as horse or cows, but bonnie, with thick flesh upon them, and the soles of it are of soft flesh; the feet round, as was said, proportionable to the great legs of it. By it's trunk it did all it does, took it's meat, corn, and straw, and loaves off the ground, casting them in it's mouth below it's trunk; takes up any thing with it; it's for use as a hand to it for any thing. Let this great creature on earth, and the whale at sea, be compared with a midge and mennow, and behold what deep counsell, and great wisdom and power, is with the great God, the creator and preservour of both. O! his great works, sought out of all these that take pleasure in them. In the back parts of it, from the place that the draught passes, to the mid leg, is covered with flesh and skin, through and throw between the legs, covering the *pudenda* under its belly that they are not seen. When it drinks it sucks up the water with it's trunk, which holds a great dale of water, and then putting the low end of the trunk in it's mouth, by wynding it in, it jaes in the water in it's mouth as from a great spout.*

December 23, 1680, Sir Antony Ashlie Couper, now Erle of

* It is probable that Law, who seems wonderfully delighted with the animal, is right in asserting this to have been the first elephant ever exhibited in Scotland. Baker, in his Chronicle, informs us, that an elephant was sent as a present to Henry III. of England by the king of France, a prodigy of nature never before seen in England.

Shaftsbury, had a speech to the House of Lords in parliament, then the king being present, wherein he shoves a necessity of the Duke of York's being excluded from succeeding to the crown of England; what danger we were in of popery from the late Irish popish plott; how plain and many were the proofs of the design they had to murder to the king, and how little he was apprehensive of it. The House of Commons had past several bills against the Papists that they should all be removed within 20 myles off London, and the chief leaders off the nation, and particularly that the Duke of York be removed off the kingdom, or else, if found in it, he was to be apprehended; att which tyme he came to Scotland, and was welcomed by our nobility with a letter of thanks to our king for sending him down, subscribed by twenty-five of them, promising to stand for the royall race with their lives and fortunes.

Lord Hellifox had a speech to the House of Lords upon the said bill presented by the House of Commons to them for exclusion of the Duke of York.—“ My lords, I wonder the great numbers of the House of Commons should propose such a bill as this, which truely deserves to be burnt; were the bill to do us any good, I wold be for it; but to provoke so great a prince, that has a fleet at sea, and an armie at land; all the governours of the garisons of England his vassals; all the hearts of the military men at his command; the great and glorious King of France his friend; the Emperor and King of Spaine none of his enemies; therefore, my lords, I desire some expedient may be found out for the security of this kingdom, and no man shall be readier than himself.” To which my Lord Gray made reply. “ My Lords, the rejecting this bill, without all reason to the Commons who sent it up, will not only be an most unrepresentary thing, but expose this honourable House to the disgust and fury of the people, and be the only way to put the sword in the

Commons' hands to cut our throats ; it will make us contemptible at home, and cursed abroad in the Protestant countries. But, my Lords, I declare my protest against it ; it's a bill that will preserve ourselves and our posterity, for this is a time to stand upon our guard. The Commons will have 200,000 to stand by them ; and, for my part, I will joyn with them. I know they will have no popish successor, therefore I desire my protest to be entered against the unreasonable proceedings of a part of our body."

December 1680, there was seen at Hamburg a great fyre in the heaven, to the length of two or three pikes ; as also there was a great earthquake at Summerseat-House, which had shaken the prison and other places there ; and in Somerseatsshire there was an apparition of two men fighting in the air, who were seen to fall, and a great fyre following them ; sicklyke the appearance of two ships were seen fighting in the aire. In Scotland, in the same month, was seen, over Gargunnoch parish, by Baquahan, and another man with him, two armies in the aire, the one from the south, the other from the north, fighting ; the south armie disappearing first. Also in Ireland, upon the 8th or 9th of January 1681, appeared a vision of men fighting in the air, and thereafter a showr that turned to lapered blood.

January 7th, 1681, the House of Commons, according to their order, entered into consideration of his majesty's message sent to this Hous on Thursday last, resolved, That it is the opinion of this House that there is no securitie nor safety for the Protestant religion, the king's lyfe, nor the well-constitut and established government of this kingdom, without passing a bill for disabling James Duke of York to inherit the imperiall crown of England and Ireland, and the dominion and territories thereto belonging ; and to relay on any other means or remedies without such a bill, is not

only insufficient, but dangerous; and do declare, untill that bill be passed for excluding the Duke of York, this House cannot give any supply to his majesty without danger to his majesty's person, extream hazard of the Protestant religion, and unfaithfulness to these by whom this House is intrusted; and did also resolve, that all persons who advysed his majesty in his last message to this House, to insist upon any opinion against the bill for excluding the said duke, has given pernicious counsell to his majesty, and are promoters of Poperie, and enemies to the king and kingdom; particularly George Earle of Hellifox, and Henry Marquis of Worchester, and Henry Erle of Clarendon, and Lues Erle of Feversham, and Laurence Hyd, Esquire; and ordered an address to be made to his majestie for removing these persons from all publick trust and offices, military or whatsoever. As also, they order that whosoever shall lend, or cause to be lent, by way of advance, any money upon the branches of the king's revenue arysing by customs, excyses, or hearth-money, shall be adjudged to hinder the sitting of the parliament, and shall be responsible for the same to them. The House of Lords came to this resolution following, anent the plott in Ireland: Resolved, by the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, That they declare, and are fully convinced, that there now is, and for divers years last past, hath been, a horrid and treasonable plott and conspiracie contrived and caryed on by these of the Popish religion in Ireland, for massacring the English, and subverting the Protestant religion, and the ancient established government of that kingdome; and ordered that all the papers that are come from Ireland relating to the Irish plott, be sent to the House of Commons, and the informations they received about the Irish plott to be printed. Sir John Fitzgerald, Colonell Percelacy, and William Bondley, Esq. Papists apprehended for the popish plott in Ireland,

and committed to prison. A report concerning the Irish plott, and other discoveries, was suppress, and the witness barbarously used; the evidence stifled by Sir John Daives, secretary of state, and Sir William Scroggs, chief justice,—impeached on articles of treason, and Richard Pouer, Erle of Tyron, impeached for high treason. A bill by the House of Commons, prohibiting Scottish cattell, all mutton and pork, &c., passed the House, and was ordered to be caryed to the Lords. Thanks was ordered to be given to Doctor Gilbert Burnet for the first part, and that he be desired to print the second part of his book of the late Reformation, and that he be recommended to the bishops for some ecclesiasticall preferment.

January 9, died Mr John Welch, peaceably at London.*

January 10, the king proroged the parliament of England till the 20th day of that instant, and then, by publick proclamation, dissolves them, and indicts a new parliament to sitt at Oxford on the 21st of February 1681. This is the third parliament the king dissolved; for at his homecoming, (Generall Munk having called together the Rump, and secluded members) after he was installed in the kingdom, he dissolved them, and calls another parliament, which sat now and then the space of 16 or 17 years. These cast out the Presbyterian ministers, cary on the war against Holland, &c., and that also he dissolved. A third parliament he calls, and sits down Oc-

* Lord Fountainhall mentions this event in his Diary, and adds, "he was not so gross as to disown the king as the Cameronians did; his grandfather, Mr John Welch, was a great enemy to the bishops, and dyed in France, *temp.* King James VI."—The Memoirs of Mr Welch, the grandfather, were written by Kirkton, and contain a number of very miraculous anecdotes concerning his propheticall powers; but his adversaries attributed these gifts to his familiarity with the devil, for Kirkton notices "the contemptible slander of some malicious enemies, who were so bold as to call him no less than a wizard."

tober 21, 1680 ; that he dissolves, January 20, 1681, and thus were disappointed the great expectations the people had of their sitting, till matters were brought to some peaceable conclusion ; more particularly and especially the discovery of the late plott in Ireland, which was newly brought in head before their dissolution. Amongst the sixteen lords in the House of Peers (that subscribed this petition for the sitting of the parliament at London, and not at Oxford ;) the Duke of Monmouth was one, and was presented by the Erle of Essex. The king, notwithstanding this petition, declared his resolution to them to keep it at Oxford on the day appointed.

The parliament members being up, go into the city. The city doubles their guards, from 15 to 30,000 men, every night and day. The king having sent a message to the major and eldersmen of the city to admitt none to their counsell but such as take the oaths, they vote the king's letter not to be read, and sent their major and recorder to the king with a petition to his majesty, that since he has proroged the parliament, he wold be pleased to let them sitt on the day appointed, to which the king replyed, desiring them to meddle with their own matters, not with his ; for his it was to call parliaments and prorogue them as he saw fitt ; with this return they came back to their councell.

February 1681, one Christopher Millar, and another, Murray, being apprehended aforehand, and brought before the king's councell at Edinburgh, were interrogat, whether they would kill the king, if it were in their power ? answered that they would, becaus he is an enemy to God. Being again interrogat, whether if the king, whom they would kill, would spare their lyves, they would accept of that mercy and favour fra him ? answered, No. To this hight of delusion are some come ; and by the same principles they were obliged, if it were in their power, to kill all that are in a natu-

rall state, yea, every one whom they judged enemies to God, whether they be so or not. Two women suffered at Edinburgh a little before this tyme, for avouching the same principle before the councell; and now some few men and women are taken at Barronstounness, of the same principles. Oh! Satan prevails much in changing his methods to tempt souls to sin against God's commands, and to self-murder. Alace! it's the sad fruits of putting out of the minis-trie of the Presbyterian persuasion in the year 1662, who taught the people both religion toward God, and loyaltie to authoritie.

March 1681, died at Edinburgh, Mr Matthew M'Kell, a godly minister and a true Nathaniel, of a good age, by a fall off a stair, having layn some few days. The righteous perish, and no man laith it to heart.

The abovenamed men, Miller and Murray, having had the offer made them by the councell of conference with Mr John Carstairs, Mr G. Johnston, and Mr Riddell, ministers, refused, becaus, said they, they were apostats from the truth. Surely neither civill nor ecclesiasticall authority has weight with persons of such principles; and no wonder, when the Holy Scriptures has no weight with them, yet such of such principles have died with great magnanimity and courage lately at Edinburgh, which some, in their ignorance, count Christian fortitude. It is not the suffering, but the cause makes the martyr; and if folks be deluded in their principles, and will not receive warning from the servants of the Lord, according to his word, no wonder they be given up of God even so to their end, that they die in it. 1. Cor. xiii. 3, These that walk not according to the rule of God's word, are out of the way, and a prey to Satan. Which dreadfull principles gives us a dowble admonition, one to our rulers, that they reflect and look back on their wayes, to see what is the cause of their peoples' loathing and casting at them; another to

us, that we willingly and cheerfully undergo the cross of Christ, when he calls us to it, without fretting and wrath, repynning and wishing evill to the instruments of our trouble, lest in going out of God's way in this we provock him to give us up to our own ways, and to the delusions of our own hearts.

This Christopher Millar, with other two of the same principles, are executed at Edinburgh, March 1681. Murray, relenting and acknowledging the king's authority, was reprieved, but the other three, though they had the offer of their lives upon that acknowledgement of the king's authority, refused it.

On the 21st of March 1681, the parliament of England sit down at Oxford, according to the king's indictment. The king's speech was to this purpose, that they would think upon any mean for securing the protestant religion, and the extirpation of poperie and papists, (for which he declared himself very zealous); as also for preserving of Tangiers, now in hazard of being takin by the natives there, and for that effect wold raise money to levie men for its preservation; only will'd them not to medle with the successor to the crown, (meaning his brother the Duke of York), and he declared what overture they wold propose he wold follow it. They again, notwithstanding, beginn with the succession, and draws a bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York for being heir to the crown; on which the king is highly incensed, and, after three or four days sitting, dissolves them; whereupon they went all home.

March 1681, one Mr Ellies, and another, Mr Murray, advocats, att Edinburgh, being formerly great mockers and sitters in the seat of the scornors, are by the hand of God smitten with an hypochondriack phrenesie, their judgement and wit taken from them, and they disabled from the exercise of their function. Mr Ellis dies.

Aprile 1681, was a monstrous foll brought forth, with its mem-

bers contrair to nature, the upper jaw of the mouth was in place of the lower, the lower in place of the upper ; the hind legs with the outside of the hoch inmost. This monster was brought forth in the parish of Lingie, near Glasgow.*

In the spring of the yeir 1681, did some of these men of the new mode against monarchie, fix a paper upon the gate of Mr James Hamilton's house, minister, indulged to Straven, full of invectives and threatenings. Mr Anthonie Shaw, indulged to a kirk in Gallo-way, with ane other indulged minister, received the lyke threatenings from that partie, and was resolved for their safety to take their families to Air to dwell in.

May 19th, 1681, did a party of these folk fall in upon a conformist's minister his house, called Gillespie, living in the south, and threatened him, and saved his life upon the giving his oath, (which they exacted of him) that he should never preach again, and they wounded some with him.

In May 1681, were five men and ten women taken about Cather moor of Barroustounness, people of that gang who denyed the king's authority, refusing to work ; these five men being brought before the councell, would not discover their heads till the messars were necessitat to do it, in token that they owned not their authoritie.

It's reported that severalls of the speeches of the lait dying per-

* If we can trust to Hollingshed, or rather to his authorities, few countries have been so fruitful in monsters of this species as Scotland ; they were usually deemed portentous of changes in church or state. In a MS. history of Scotland, with notes, written by a Laird of Roslin in the sixteenth century, the Editor met with the following wonderful account of a monster found at Bamborough in England, A. D. 1544, having been cast on shore there.—“ After ane greit routting and horrible noyes ! na man could devyse ane thing mair terribill ; with hornes on the heid of it, reid ene ; with wanschape face, with luckin hands and feit ; and ane greit rumpill hingand to the eird. It was callit ane sey devill. Witness the Laird of Mow.”

sons on scaffolds at Edinburgh have been penned by papists, and put out in their names to make the protestant religion odious unto the world; and that they have a great hand in stirring up these men and women to these fopperies and follies, that thereby our religion may be contemned. These people were so deluded of Sathan, as that they did not work, contrair to that 1 Thess. iv. 11, nor wold they eat any meat given them by the councell, nor drink aill that pay'd excyse; and when honest women, minister's wyves, came to see them, they beginn to rail upon them and upbraid them with the name of Jezebell, and calls them reprobates. Mr Durham's wife, and Mr William Guthrie's wife, were so upbraided. To what a hight and lenth this delusion will turn is hard to say. There was one minister's wife that turned to that way, and another minister's daughter of Mr Elphinston, late minister at Dumbartan, as was reported;* and generally people do not now partake of the sacraments. Ministers and their preaching is rejected, (from which was the beginning of their errours), and many false brethren there are, who are deceitful workers, and circumveeners of the brethren. The Lord pity the case of his church, and deliver it from the snares and temptations of Sathan.†

* Renwick, in his Letters, mentions that Mr Flint, who makes a great figure in Shields's Faithful Contendings, "is married by Thomas Russell to one Mrs Moor, who had been one with John Gib."

† Walker, in his Life of Mr Donald Cargill, gives the following account of this sect of enthusiasts.—"John Gibb, a sailor in Borrowstonness, a great professor, (but still some serious souls jealous of him) drew about twenty-six women and three men with him, the greater part of them serious, exercised, tender, zealous, gracious souls, who stumbled upon the stumbling block laid in their way, of minister's compliance, silence, and unfaithfulness, who, before the break of Bothwell-bridge, for about eleven years, had publicly preached the indispensable duty of all the Lord's people to follow the

This people take to themselves scripture names, (disclaiming their own names they gott at baptism), such as Abraham, Isaac, and Ja-

gospel, and defend the same ; but a little thereafter, the enemy gave an indemnity, or third indulgence to all ministers who formerly preached in the field, to preach in houses, with the cautionary band, witnessed against in the Banders disbanded. They so far complied with the enemy's design and desire to have their rendezvous of rebellion, the field conventicles, (as then called) the devil's grand eye-sore, and great vexation to all his friends, the foes of reformation, suppressed, that they would preach none without houses, even those who were most zealous and forward that way, &c. These lamentable things, together with the cruel tyranny, shedding so much innocent, precious, dear blood, made them split with zeal, not only to cast off all that do not agree with them in every thing, but also to utter strange anti-gospel imprecations, disdaining and reproaching all others as backsliders, stating their testimonies against all crown dues, excise, and customs ; and for that end would make no use of ale nor tobacco, and other fool things. These people at first were commonly called, Sweet-Singers, from their frequently meeting together, and singing these tearful psalms over the mournful case of the church, Psalm 74, 79, 80, 83, 137. Thus they continued from the beginning of the year untill April ; then all with one consent, that they might be free from all these foresaid things, left their houses, warm soft beds, covered tables, some of them their husbands and children weeping upon them to stay with them ; some women taking the sucking children in their arms to desart places, to be free of all snares and sins, and communion with all others, and mourn for their own sins, the land's tyranny and defections, and there to be safe from the land's utter ruin and desolations by judgements ; some of them going to Pentland-hills with a resolution to sit there to see the smoke and utter ruin of the sinful bloody city of Edinburgh ; but if they had fulfilled their resolution, they would have been sadly beaten these forty-eight years, being lately gone to their grave, laying more weight and stress upon these duties of prayer, fasting, and mourning, than upon Christ's satisfaction, obedience, and intercession ; which, alas ! that legal formal spirit is the ruin and plague of the greater part of preachers and prayers abounding this day, and ruining all the churches. These were a part of the confession of some of these gracious women, who came under the power of such delusions, voluntarily before a great multitude of people, upon the 3d day of March, 1681, at the Black Hill of Lesmahago, and matter of mourning to this day. Immediately after they came to these desart places, they kept a day of fasting and confessing of their sins one to another ; yea, some of

cob, Sarah, &c. and use to sing psalms grovelling on the ground, and after that musicall notes and aires, and call themselves the sweet

them confest sins that the world had not heard of, and so not called to confess them to men.

“ In the mean time of their lying in this sad pickle in desart places, the man of God, blest Cargill, came down from England, a happy tryst to many godly zealous souls, who had a gale of zeal upon their spirits, and feared no danger upon the right hand, if they held off the left. Immediately he was called to preach in Darmade Muirs, by some who retained their former zeal and faithfulness. That Sabbath morning, John Gibb, David Jamie, Walter Ker, John Young, and twenty-six women, were lying in the Deer Slunk, in midst of a great flow-moss, betwixt Clydesdale and Lothian, about a mile distant. Mr Cargill sent two men, whose names I could mention, to desire them to come and hear sermon, and that he might converse with them, several of them being his acquaintance. John Gibb answered, he had left the land, and deserted the testimony ; they did not want him nor no other minister ; it was never better with them than since they had parted with all of them. He went to Darngavell, in Cambusnethan parish, upon the side of the muir ; he sent for them to-morrow. When they came, they had a long reasoning in the barn, the sum and substance of it is to be found in that letter he sent to the women in the Correction-house, which is published in the Cloud of Witnesses. Gibb and Jamie carried pistols upon them, and threatened all that came to seek their wives or others from them, which frighted some. There was a bed made for him and John Gibb ; he lay down a little, but rose in haste, and went to the muir all night. I well remember, it was a cold easterly wet fog. Many waiting on to have his thoughts about them, he refused upon the Sabbath evening to give his thoughts untill he spake with them. They found him in the morning wet and cold, and very melancholy, wanting rest all night, and great grief upon his spirit. They said, Now, sir, you have spoke with them, and have had your thoughts about them, be free with us. He said, My thoughts are both bad and sad ; this man, John Gibb, is an incarnate devil, and there are many devils in him ; wo to him, his name will stink while the world stands. I bless God who preserved me ; he might have cut my throat this night, but I got warning of my danger, &c. After this, in the beginning of May, the Gibbites were all taken by a troop of dragoons at the Wool-hill Craigs, betwixt Lothian and Tweeddale, a very desart place. The enemies carried them to Edinburgh ; the four men were put in the Canongate tolbooth, and the twenty-six women in the Correction-house, and some of them scourged ; and, as their friends

singers of Israel ; and when praying they use to spread furth a napkine that has been dipt in the blood of these of their opinion that had been executed, imprecating and cursing these that took their blood, and others that oppose their way. These whom they admitt to their society must swear and give their oath, that they shall not forsake them and all of their societie. They forbid to work, telling it is not a tyme for working, judgements being at hand, but a tyme for praying and fasting. It's a remarkable passage that fell out amongst them : one of them persuading his neighbour to fall in to their societie at Barroustounness, and to keep their meetings, which he took to advysement ; the advyser on a certain day in the afternoon comes to him, and desires him to keep the meeting with them that night in the fields, (for they use, man and woman of them, to lay in the fields all night in the summer tyme), when his doors were shutt upon him ; and after he had spokin to him, he enquires how he gott in to him, the doors being shutt ? He answered, That by their faith they could do greater wonders than these, and if he would go and keep their meetings he should see it ; and thus disappears, and goes away, the doors being shutt. The man taking this to heart, on the morrow goes to that man's house, who, as he thought, appeared to him, and asked him how he came to him yesterday in his room, the doors being shutt ? He standing all amazed, showed that he was not with him yesterday ; and then he told him the whole matter as afore rehearsed, whereupon they concluded it was Sathan. This gave them and others of that way a check, and some of them laid it to heart. This partie came at lenth to be divided strangely among themselves, as is the end of all errour and erroneous doc-

loved and had money, they were set free. The greater part of them came to their right mind, after they had tasted of the bitter fruits of these demented delusions, with whom I have had edyfyng conversation since."

trines and practises ; they sist not at one thing, nor can they fitt a stand there to stay, but are divided, subdivided, and subsubdivided, untill they crumble away to nothing. Four of this partie, in the Canongate tolbooth, in the iron house, publish a paper, which they present to the rest of their party, then prisoners in the correction-house, to be subscribed by them. The names of the four, Walter Kerr, and John Gibb, David Jamison, and John Young, who subscribed the paper ; these in the correction-house refused to subscribe it, but counted them devills. In this paper, these four disclaim and reject the psalmes of David in metre, the division of the scriptures in chapters and verses, the marginall citations, the contents of the chapters, and marginall notes, the epistle to King James, the old translation and impression, the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, all the covenants that have been in the land, national and the league, all ingadgements to duties, all declarations, particularly the declaration published at Hamilton, anno 1679, Cargill's declaration and covenant, and Sancher's declaration, all of them as human inventions ; and bears testimony against the king, whom they name Charles Stewart, his tyranny, reckoning all the rulers grievous oppressors, and against all ministers, whom they assert should not be heard, (the very doctrine of the Quakers) ; against all bonds, inhibitions, letters of horning, and apprysments of lands ; against naming of moneths after their usuall names, as January, February, March, &c., and the dayes of the week, as Monday, Tuesday, &c. ; but terms them the first moneth, first day, &c., and the feast dayes, as Zoull, cards and dyce, and playes. And withall reflects upon the field ministers, as men, who, in the hearing of thousands, called the king a tyrant, his government tyranny, and the rulers oppressors ; and yet when taken prisoners, their is supplication upon supplication to them, with a please your lordships and your honours, and with many a scrape, beck, and beinge ; and as they

reckon there be no ministers, so there are no professors they can converse with in all the land ; and all this they set off blasphemously by saying, it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us so to say. They pretend much to prayer and fasting for averting God's wrath of the land.*

* The paper mentioned above, written by the Gibbites while in prison, is one of the most singular productions ever conceived by idiotical enthusiasm. Among many other *abominations*, they solemnly renounce " the names of months, &c., Sunday, Monday, &c., Martinmas, holydays, for there is none holy but the Sabbath-day, Lammas-day, Whitsunday, Candlemas, Beltan, cross stones, and images, fairs named by saints, and all the remnants of popery ; Yule, or Christmas, old wives fables and bye-words, as Palm-Sunday, Carlin-Sunday, the 29th of May, being dedicated by this generation to profanity ; Pasch-Sunday, Hallow-even, Hogmynae-night, Valentine's-even ; no marrying in the month they call May ; the innumerable relicks of Popery, atheism, and sorcery, and New-Year's-day, and Handsel-Monday, dirges, and lyke-wakes, Valentine's fair, chapels and chaplains, likewise Sabbath-days feasting, blythe-meats, banquetings, revelling, piping, sportings, dancings, laughings, singing profane and lustful songs and ballads, table-lawings, monk lands, friar lands, black friar lands, kirks and kirk-yards, and market crosses, font stones, images, registers of lands and houses, register-bonds, discharges, and all their law works, inhibitions, hornings, letters of adjudications, ship passes, profanity, and all unchaste thoughts, words, and actions, formality and indifference, story-books and ballads, romances and pamphlets, comedy-books, cards and dice, and all such like, we disown all of them, and burn them the sixth day of the week, being the 27th day of the sixth month, at the Canongate tolbooth iron-house, &c." Towards the conclusion, there is an attempt to palliate the scandal respecting the female proselytes, for the four men declare,—“ We took ourselves to the fields, holding still by our duty, where many women did offer themselves to the work, with whom our spirits were many times burdened, whom we could not put away without manifest causes.” This ridiculous paper was printed, but the Sweet-Singers, says Lord Fountainhall, “ turning more sober, retracted part of their former extravagancies ; and, before the secret council, declared they thought it not lawful to rise up in arms against the magistrates' authority, though in their printed testimony the spirit did then suggest the contrary to them. Some of their women singers were

An. 1681, there is a great famine in Spain and Portugall, laying be west of Spaine. There also then was a great earthquake in Italy,

so rude as to throw out broken chandlers, and other trash, at the Duke of York's coach as it passed by the Canongate prison, for which they were severely lashed." The duke, however, if Walker is to be credited, was their friend in the main; "he and all other enemies rejoiced at all these strange things, and gave large money to these four men, for which they wrote a most blasphemous paper to York, copies of which are yet in the hands of some. In a little time they were all liberate. These four men, with Isabell Brown, and another woman, whose name I have forgot, went west to the Frost Moss, betwixt Airth and Stirling, where they burnt the Holy Bible, as they had exclaimed against the psalms in metre, and contents of the Bible, as human inventions: every one of them had somewhat to say when they threw their Bibles in the fire. John Gibb said, he did that out of despite against God. The night before that horrid action of burning the Bible, Walter Ker and John Young prayed all night in that moss, and a light shining about them. Shortly after this, Walter Kerr turned mad, and was for some time bound in Torphichen, where he was born. John Young went into Lothian after that, and kept a school, lived retired, and spoke little. Gibb, and David Jamie, Isabel Brown, and that other woman, were again taken and put in the Canon-gate tolbooth, where they took such fits of seven days fasting, that their voices were changed in their groanings and gollerings with pain of hunger, and then such excessive eating, that these with them admired how their bellies could contain so much. Gibb was so possest with a raging roving devil, that they could not get public worship performed three times a-day, as their ordinary was in each room; two of these prisoners took their tour about, lying upon him with a napkin in his mouth. George Jackson, who thereafter suffered at the Gallow-lee, in December 9th, 1684, at first, when he came there prisoner, said, Is that his ordinary? they said, it was. He said, I shall stay his roaring, and threatened Gibb. He fell a trembling, and put his own napkin in his mouth, but could not refrain his roaring: George desired them to halt in time of worship, and with feet and hands dashed his head against the wall, and beat him so that the rest were afraid that he had killed him outright. Gibb was a big strong man, for which he was called *Meikle John Gibb*. After this, whenever they began, he ran in behind the door with his napkin in his mouth, and there sat howling like a dog. I had these accounts from these prisoners who were with him when I was carried into that iron-house. Immediately after, John Gibb, David Jamie, and the foresaid two, were sent to America, where Gibb was much admired by the heathen for his familiar

where the city Euphamia was quite overwhelmed and swallowed down, and the country wasted near 200 myles with it.

In the yeir 1681 was a giant of 15 yeirs, of the Irish stock in Ireland, presented by his parents (who were but of ordinarie stature themselves) unto the Duke of Ormond, then lieutenant of Ireland, for his service. One Piggie, a comedian in Dubline, a woman, supplicats the said duke that she might have him to expose him to the publick view, for gaining money to her. She obtained her request at the duke's hands, and accordingly so used him, keeping him closs; but when she exposed him to the view of others for money, she clothes him, and gives him dyet and 10s. Sterling a day; he is taler than any man, though of these yeirs, be a cubit, and has his body and members proportionable, a broad face, without any hair, a big body, with great armes and legs, his foot half a yaird long, having only the Irish tongue; he will weep when the rude and unmannerly seeks a sight of , and turns his back upon them after he has done it. So nature teaches him.

The book, intituled the History of the Indulgence, by Mr Brown, or rather the romance, which had for the matter of it arguments for not hearing indulged ministers (excellent stuff), and many of them borrowed from the Appologie, a book wherein were arguments

converse with the devil bodily, and offering sacrifices to him. He died there about the year 1720." Cargill, in his letter to the Gibbites, hints at their founder's sorcery; and the author of "The Hind Let Loose," positively asserts him to have been a wizard, p. 140. Wodrow, after giving an account of the follies of these idiots, adds, with great candour,—“ I shall end this lamentable subject by remarking, that the raveries of Gib and his followers, when broke out, gave some little turn to the heights and extremities of others who had any real good in them; they were somewhat like a crise, and, as it were, the separating the morbifick matter from the blood, whereby it became a little more cool and settled, though I cannot but say too much of the distemper remained to the revolution, and even to this day.”

for not hearing the conformist ministers (once in an error, and more in it), did shake the people much that were ignorant; (and, indeed, instead of arguments, there were nothing but high and confident assertions, and the indytment going above the evidence), with visible contradictions in publick preachings amongst some ministers, that many of the unstable professors they knew not whom to believe, and some of them avouching there were scarce four ministers faithfull to be found in the church, and many of the people in hazard to be shaken in the very foundation. See Mr Robert Fleeming's *Church Wounded*, p. 5, and 12. He says they stretch the difference so far, as to break off church communion and fellowship with them, whom yet they dar not but own as the messengers of Christ to his church. From this it appears that the anti-indulgers are false contradicters, their work is to break the esteem and credit of the ministers indulged amongst the people, the old trick of the jesuits, as Conzen, a jesuit, writes, *Polit. 2. cap. 18.* that the surest way to reduce the church to poperie was to have their great aime against the ministers of the reformed churches, by blasting of their reputation, as well as persecuting their persons.

Mr M^cWard, in his preface to this *Historie of the Indulgence*, that he might yet widen the breach more, declares, that he can pray for nothing else in behalf of the indulged ministers but repentance, and untill that, may have no suit else to God in their behalf, which is an express denying to pray for the success of their ministerie and edification of the people, till they be once convinced, and have changed their judgement; and they reckon the indulged ministers in the same classe and case with these who are prelatick; yea, they seem to hold them out as worse. The intent of all their arguments adduced in that history is to vindicat the practice of such as scruple to own or hear any indulged minister, (*ibid.* p. 17), and thus to fix them, who were but hesitant before, to a further falling off from

the hearing of such ; and hereby laid a stumbling-block in the way of many thousands of the people, who had no such scruple herein, so far as to prejudge and weakin their edification by their ministrie, yea, thus frustrat that success and fruit their work of the Gospell might have. And now may not the prophane, the drunkards, swearers, and worldings of our tyme, fly under such a patrocinie, (as too many of them do already, loytering at home on the Sabbath), if many or most of the non-conformists ministers of the church are neither to be heard nor owned ? how sad should this be ! Or if folks go that length as to hear, yet with having them in such contempt as, without any dread or fear, to slight their ministerial exhortations, yea, to have a loathing of God's word in their mouths, and a slighting of it in their hearts, how provoking is it to God's Spirit to remove the candlestick out of its place. The sad fruits of their doctrine, who taught the people not to hear the conformist ministers ; for what may be said against the hearing of the first, that they are sinners, may be said also against hearing of the second, (as, indeed, they use the same arguments), seeing both are sinners, and not without their own infirmities ; then must the heavenly treasures be carryed no longer in earthen vessalls.

In that history of the Indulgence, they do not assert this to be *simpliciter* sinfull to hear either such, or the curates ; but it is only in case that no preaching ministrie were else in the land, otherways, do most expressly allow and warrand a forbearing to hear such, (which is still to make a schism in the church, and a breaking off from her communion, which is unwarrantable, and contrar to the rule,) as these who had fallen under no less than a judiciall forfeiture of their ministrie, (Oh, what a fansie !) in so far as they have accepted of that indulgence ; and herein, in effect, doth impose upon the conscience of the people, to rack and disquiet their mind, so as many, through fear and ignorance upon this account, knowes not

what to do. Mr Robert Fleeming's church wounded and rent, page 19, 20. Thir schisms and breaking off from ordinances, and division among professors, have, within these two yeirs, come to that hight, and has been so far urged by the brotchers and fomenters of it, as that it is to be feared, (without preventing grace) it shall at last end in dissolution. Julian knew this too well, when, as one of the greatest means he followed for the undoing of Christianitie, was not only to tollerat, but to foment differences amongst Christians.*

Surely there are some sins God is pointing at, laying upon this church and the land these fourty yeirs and upward, by this dreadfull and astonishing stroak of his hand, that is lyke to ruin us. 7 c. Zah. v. 12, and viii. 10, and xi. 10, 14; Lam. iv. 16,—The anger of the Lord hath divided them, he will no more regard them; they respected not the persons of the priests; they favoured not the elders; which the Lord wold have us to search after and to mourn for, namely, the great hypocrisie has been in the church and land, pretending to one thing, and intending another by many. The crueltie and oppression of these of different persuasions when in power.

May 1681, died Mr Robert M'Waird, at Rotterdam, a man who, with Mr John Brown, both ministers, set the Church of Scotland in a fire of contention and strife about the late Indulgence, as he had formerly his accession (though a young man then) to the

* After perusing a multitude of ill-written pamphlets on the Indulgence, and considering the fury with which the disputes respecting points so immaterial to the great cause of religion were agitated, one is tempted to exclaim, with the excellent Bishop Leighton, at the conclusion of his first Letter on the Accommodation,—“ But Oh! who would not long for the shadows of the evening, and to be at rest from all these poor childish trifling contests !”

heightening of the difference 'twixt the public resolvers and remonstrators. Mr Brown dies also here.

These people that lately kept the fields under pretence of praying and fasting, who rejects magistrats and ministers, when on a night lying on Pentland-hills, made confession to ane another of their sins. Ane Anna Stewart confessed adulterie and incest; this is she who forsook her husband and adhered to John Gibb as her husband, one of that number. She confessed also her converse with Sathan. Another woman of that company, sirnamed Russell, confessed the like adultery and incest, and, generally, all gross sins. Ane Janet Elphistoun confessed fornication with her husband before marriage; this was related by an ear-witness, a woman who went in amongst them to see their way, and was afterwards confirmed by some of their confessions in the tolbooth after their taking. The devil was seen amongst them in the shape of a dog, of a black collour, which John Gibb sets off fairly, by telling the rest of the company, when they saw him in this shape, that the devil appeared only to affright them from their duty. It was said also amongst them to these that reported it, that the hill on which they were lying that night did shake and tremble under them, which John Gibb blasphemously called the sign of God's presence with them.

June 1681, does a company of these men who kept the fields in armes, and who reject magistracy and ministrie, fall in upon the house of Mr Kid, an indulged minister, in the presbytery of Lanerk, in the night time, to kill him, as it would seem, according to their principles, but he escaped them. And it is reported they threatened Mr Donald Cargill with death, because he would not go all the length of their wickedness and errour.

July 13, 1681, is Mr Donald Cargill, minister, taken by the dragooners, above Lanerk, (whiles they were in seeking of a countryman who had killed one of their number) and brought to Glasgow

prison the same day, and the next day carried to Edinburgh prison by soldiers, where he was kept closs prisoner with two souldiers in his room, with their gunns, and the door lockt. There were other two of his attendants taken with him, one Mr Walter Smith, and one Mr Boik, who had been at the late fight at Bothwell Bridge, as well as himself was. Mr Donald being carried before the Council, and interrogat, Whether he had excommunicat the king? answered, That that being a church affair, the church, not they, were competent judge. Being interrogat, What he thought of the murder of the late Archbishop of Saint Andrews? replied, That he had no accession to it; but he knew from Scripture that some men had done the like; but whether these that did that deed had the same spirit, and were acted by it, he knew not. And as to other affairs he was charged with, referred them all to probation; whereupon he was by them referred over to the Justice-General, and witnesses summoned in against him. The said Mr Donald, Mr Smith, and Mr Boike, with other two countrymen, were condemned to die, and accordingly suffered death at Edinburgh by hanging; and having their heads struck off, were put upon the ports of Edinburgh. Mr Donald's last words, going up the ladder, were these: "The world is weary of me, and I am weary of the world." It was observed, that when Mr Smith was inveighing against the government, that Mr Donald clapt on his shoulder, and willed him to be silent.* These last had

* From Lord Fountainhall's MSS. it appears that Cargill did not behave with much courage at his trial, though his biographer, Walker, would have us believe otherwise. His petition for banishment being rejected, he assumed more heroism, prophesying the manner of his execution, and the death of the Duke of Rothes, who spoke harshly to Mr Donald when he was conveyed as a prisoner into Edinburgh. An indiscreet jest, uttered by Archbishop Paterson's factor, had previously brought a judgement upon that scoffer at Glasgow; and if credit is to be given to Wodrow, and other writers, the persecution of the Whigs was attended with many signal miracles of

the offer of their lives, providing that they would acknowledge the king's authority, and bid God bless the king; but they refused it, saying, it was not consistent with their principles. Two other countrymen were a few days before hanged for the same principles, the disclaiming the king's authority. These abovenamed were put to death the 27th of July, 1681, at Edinburgh.

The same day was Mr Gabriel Sempill, minister, brought in prisoner to Edinburgh tolbooth, being taken in the south, who was excepted out of the Act of Indemnitie for his being at Pentland fight. The same day was taken, by the town-major, a woman on suspicion that she was one of that gang that disclaimed the king's authority; and being enquired, Whether she acknowledged the king's authority? answered negatively. The Bible being taken from her and searched, it was found that the word king where it was, was blotted out. She was cast into prison.

About this same time Mr William Wishart, minister, for preaching in his house at Beeth, was made prisoner. So Mr Thomas Melvin was troubled for preaching, where he remains with the dragoons, and had been made prisoner if he had been in a condition for carrying.

a like nature. Among the Wodrow MSS. is a paper containing a number of these *judgements*. The following seemed most worthy of selection:—"There was another who desired a commission to Fife, and he would not leave the seed of a fanatick; and immediately when he came there, he fell down dead. His brother comes, and desires to succeed him, and he would not leave ane rat; and when he came there, he died immediately, and was almost eaten of rats, for they could scarcely get them kept off him after he was dead.

"Another, who was lieutenant under Meldrum, was suffocat, and died suddenly; and the candle went out of its own accord, and would not burn the time that he was dying.

"Another that was scriver to a troop, who was sitting in a chamber himself, telling money, the house fell and smooed him," &c.

John Spreul, apothecar, or drogester, at Glasgow, being made prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh for alledged accession to the late rebellion of Bothwell, declared, that on a time when he was lying in that tolbooth, there was one sent into their company as a prisoner, and keepest closs with them, a sharp-like man, who inveighed against magistracy and the present magistrats; whom they suspecting, kept up their minds. The same man went away from them within a few days, and yet not conveyened before the Council. They could neither tell how he came to them, nor how he went from them, which gave the said John ground to think that all his din amongst people now against the magistrat, has had its first rise from the Papists, and inconsiderat people taken away with it; for some made that their work as to cast out people with the ministrie, so with the magistracy, that they might bring all to confusion. And, indeed, here are very great presumptions of it, that the Papists have had a great hand in our late troubles, both as to the stirring up of people to the late rebellions, and as to their draught of papers, such as that of their New Covenant, and Sanquhar Declaration, considering that there has been severalls preaching on the hills unto people (when ministers took the freedom to do it) which were not known to them, the strain of whose doctrine was to cry down kings, lords, bishops, Indulgence, &c.; and indeed by severalls were suspected to be Jesuits, or Papist priests; and with all, if it be considered that the strain and matter of these papers, their Covenant, and Sanquhair Declaration, are the same with the principles of the Papists, and do wholly agree with their confessions. For, first, it is a principle of the Papists, if a king be not of their religion, the Pope may depose him, or excommunicat him; being deposed, his subjects may kill him, yea, by deceit they may do it, as Ehud did in killing Eglon; (we want not here instances either cast up to us) how this agrees with Sanquhair Declaration and their Covenant,

any that reads may see. Second, the Papists affirm, that subjects may lawfully (if so be they have sufficient strength) exempt themselves from subjection to their princes, if he be of a contrary religion to them, as the Protestant is to the Papist, before any declaratory sentence of a judge. Thus Dominicus Bannes, a Dominican friar. And that we may understand that the proviso, which he inserteth, of having strength sufficient, (*si modo eis vires suppetant*) is very material, he putteth us in mind that the faithful (he meaneth the Papists of England) are to be excused hereby, who do not exempt themselves from the power of any superiours, nor make war against them, because that, generally, they have not power sufficient to make such wars against princes, and great dangers are imminent over them. See for thir, and the like principles, *August. Triumphus de potestate Ecclesiæ*, Quest. 46, Article 2. Cardinal Baronius, Impress. anno 1538, Sect. 80, informeth us, by the example of Dacius, the Bishop of Milayne, his dealing against the Arians, that those bishops (says he) deserves no blame, and ought to suffer no envie, who roll every stone that they may not live under an heretical prince. See Bannes, in Thom. 2, Quest. 12, Article 2. See Fran. Swarez Defens. Fidei Cathol. Lib. 6, Cap. 4, Sect. 14; and Jo. Mariana de Reg. Institut. Lib. 1. Cap. 7. Now, let us declare their new act and Sanquhair Declaration with thir popish principles, and will we not find in them asserted, that (if they have pouer) they are called to bring down the present magistrat, and that it is their duty, when God puts power in their hand, so to do. And what doth Dominicus Bannes say more? *Si modo eis vires suppetant*, having strength sufficient, says he, to do it.

July 26, 1681, dies of a jaundice my Lord Rothes, present chancellor of Scotland; leaves behind him two daughters, the first was married to the Earle of Haddington, her own cousin-german, the second was married to the Marquis of Montrose. Their lady-mo-

ther was a daughter of the house of the Earle of Crawford-Lyndsay's, and sister to the late Lady Haddingtoun. She was a discreet, wise, virtuous, and good lady. This Rothes was of a long time chancellour in Scotland since the death of the Earle of Glencairn, late chancellour, and was sometimes the king's commissioner to his parliament.

July 28, 1681, a parliament in Scotland being aforehand called by the king's proclamation, to keep and sit the said day at Edinburgh, accordingly the members did keep and ride the parliament the said day. The Duke of York, the king's brother-german, being made commissioner aforehand, takes his place that day as commissioner; he was also, by the king, a little before this time, made general of all his majesty's forces in Scotland.

July 1681, these four men, John Gibb, David Jamison, Walter Ker, and John Young, who subscribed the paper disclaiming the Covenant, Confession of Faith, and Catechisms, &c. having resiled from their subscriptions against the magistrat, were reprimed.

August 13, 1681, were these three acts touched with the scepter by the Duke of York, commissioner in parliament, that day, viz. first, a confirmation and establishment of our Protestant religion, as is professed in our land, in doctrine and in discipline; second, the heir of the crown declared to be the immediate successor by line from our king, male or female, of whatsoever religion, and that it shall be treason to speak to the contrair; third, the cesse lately laid on shall continue yet five years, with the two yet not run out, which in whole shall make seven, for the maintainance of the present souldiery. These three were proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh. The locality also is taken away. The bill anent rike-penny, pole-money, and retention-money, were rejected.

August 1681, now the gospel grows contemptible to many in the land, many refusing to hear it preached, and to partake of the sacra-

ments, vilifying and setting at nought the meanes of grace, and contemning the ministers of it. The sacrament of the Lord's supper being dispensed at Pasley two Sabbath-days in this moneth, severals refuse to go to partake that used to go before, though the dispensers were able and faithfull ministers as is in the church, Mr Baird, and Mr Eccles. One woman, doubting to go, went to her neighbour to ask counsel, she replied, What! will ye be guilty of the blood of the saints? One Goodwin, maltman in Glasgow, and James Kirkwood, a burgess in it, go about to diswade people to hear ministers, indulged or not indulged, particularly not to hear Mr Andrew Mortoun. Mr Robert Miller being spoken of as a great prayer, a woman replied, so is a ——— great at the one end, small at the other. A young woman took the boldness to reprove a gentleman for going from Glasgow to the communion at Pasley at this time. Oh! what sad evidence have we of a departing God from our land, and of removing the candlestick out of its place. Another being asked, Whether she will not go to church to hear? replied, she would not profane the Sabbath so far.

On August 1681, the parliament of Scotland made an act discharging the summer session at any time hereafter, but only the session to be held in the winter time. This was done for an ease of the leidges who conveened twice a-year to the session, in the winter and summer.

On August last, 1681, the parliament of Scotland ordains, by act of parliament then made and touched, that all in publick trust, in state or church, viz. all members of parliament, and elections of them, all officers of state, all members of his majesty's privy council, all lords of session, advocats' clerks, and wryters whatsoever, all sheriffs and their clerks, all commissioners and their deputs, and clerks, procurators, and all under wryters, and messengers at arms, all magistrates of cities, and deacons of trades, all ministers of the gospell, and preach-

ers, all masters of colledges, all schoolmasters, superiour or inferiour, and all soldiers, take the following oath :

Persons in Public Trust.

“I, A. B. solemnly swear, in presence of the eternal God, whom I invocat as judge and witness of my sincere intention of this my oath, That I own and sincerely profess the true Protestant religion contained in the Confession of Faith, recorded in the first parliament of King James the Sixth, &c., as is to be seen in the Test, 1681.”

And this oath was to be imposed on all in public trust, in church or state, (the king, his brethren, and children, being expressly excepted out of the act) against the 1st of January next ensueing.

It was enacted by parliament that no English cloath, nor stuffs, should be imported ; this they did to encourage these that intended a manufactory for cloath in this kingdom. Item, That no laces should be imported. Also, that no mourning cloaths should be worn at burials. Duke Hamilton, and the Earle of Argyle, shewed themselves dissatisfied with the acts made anent the imposing of thir oaths, and some of the barrons dissented from them. Also, they discharged, by an act, pennie-bridells, and ordained the number of these to be at brydells to be but very few, also at baptisms of children.

The parliament adjourned from the 17th of December 1681, to the 6th of March 1682, and is again, by the king's proclamation, adjurned to the 17th day of Aprile next ensueing.

September 1681, the king's council at Edinburgh, notwithstanding the act of parliament to impose the above said test against the 1st of January next ensueing, yet ordains that there shall be no meetings of any judicature, civil or ecclesiasticall, until the members thereof take it. Whereupon the Synod of Glasgow and Air

having met the first Tuesday of October, were dismissed without sitting, the ministers not having taken it aforehand. The Synod of Peebles, being desired by the archbishop to take it at their last meeting in September 1681, took it to advisement. The reason they gave why they then could not take it was, that they desired not to bind up themselves by an oath not to keep ecclesiastical meetings, in case a popish successor should succeed to the crown, who doubtless would not allow them to meet. The Synod of Aberdeen, all of them refused it; so did the Synod of Fife, Lothian, and Argyle.

October 3, 1681, did the Duke of York come to see Glasgow, and was welcomed by all the soldiers with vollies, and by the townsmen, who sent out to meet him, with the Archbishop Rosse, with acclamations of joy, and by the town itself with bonfires and ringing of bells. He lodged in Provost Bell his house; was welcomed also by the Colledge with short speeches; one from the rector, Doctor Birsbane, in English; another from the principal, Mr Edward Wright, in Latin; another from Mr Blair, eldest regent, in Latin also. He received a box of gold from the town, weighting a pound, wherein was put his burges-ticket. Next day he goes to Dumbrittan, and is welcomed there with a small treat, and a little box of gold given him, wherein his burgess-ticcat of that town also was put, and returns to Glasgow that night, after he had dined at the Halcat with my Lord Rosse. The day after he returns to Edinburgh.

October 1681, some of the conformist ministers put forth in write their animadversions on the Test, and modestly gave their reasons why it should not be taken.

It is reported that Sir John Cunningham, advocat, when this Test was concluded in parliament, spoke in face of parliament that he was against this oath; and now since they had concluded it the

bishops had received a wound under the fifth rib. This man was a great favourer of the order of episcopacy.

On October 10th, 1681, did five suffer death between Leith and Edinburgh by hanging, their heads cut off, and their bodies buried at the gallow-foot, for disclaiming the king's authority, and in face of council denying the king's majesty to be their sovereign; and withall declared, that if it were in their power they would kill him and his counsellors also. Generall Dalyell being in council, and impatient to hear them, smits one of them, who requit him with thir words, Is there non other hangman in the town but yourself? * One of them when ryped was found to have a knife with this inscription engraven on it, A knife to cut the throats of tyrants. This man's hand, to whom this knife belonged, was first cut off before he was hanged.

These odious opinions they professed were grounded upon two wicked principles, that severalls in the land held as they were taught by corrupt teachers: 1. That a king not doing his office, or doing any thing contrar to religion, *ipso facto*, is denuded of his royal power; 2. That a tyrannous king may by privat persons be killed. Which principles are very dangerous; for, by the first, children may rebell against their parents, servants against their masters, tennants

* The man had assailed Dalyell with many opprobrious epithets, which the rough old veteran did not patiently bear. He was held by the fanaticks in peculiar dread and detestation, both on account of his unrelenting temper, and his intimacy, as they supposed, with the great Enemy of mankind. At the battle of Pentland-hills, the bullets were seen hopping off his boots like hailstones, resisted by the powerful charms he wore; and he is said, on some occasions, actually to have outwitted Satan. A long beard, and uncouth attire, may have added to the common notions respecting his diabolic practices, of which almost all the contemporary persecutors were loudly accused by the Whigs.

against their landlords, upon any supposed injurie done them by their superiours. By the second, any privat person may kill his prince upon any supposed mal-administration, though it be not true. A considerable number of the rest of the prisoners at Edinburgh were sent to Flanders to fight against the French.

The council pass an act anent the Test to be taken by all judges, dated Edinburgh, 24th of September, 1681. This act is already in print, being printed by the heirs of Andrew Anderson, an. Dom. 1681.

October 1681, the two regiments lying at Glasgow, to wit, the red and blew regiment, tooke the Test before their commanders in the Green of Glasgow.

The lords of his majesty's council took it, a few excepted, viz. Argyle, the president, and the clerk register.

Argyle is turned off all his places of trust as counsellor, as a trustee of the Exchequer, and as extraordinar Lord of the Session, and appointed to make account of his intromissions with his lands and rents, since the king's restoration of him to them; one part being given by the king to himself, another part for portioning his bretheren and sisters, and his lady mother's joyntour, and a third for payment of his debts; the complaints of his creditors were now taken to consideration.

Lord President Stairs going up to England without asking leave of the Duke of York, his majesty's commissioner, to speak with the king, gote no access to him; but was commanded by Secretary Murray, in the king's name, to remove off the kingdom, which he did instantly; the Duke of Laderdaill could not avail him at this time. He is turned off his place and charge as President of the Session, and Sir George Gordon of Haddow put in it; so is the Clerk Register Murray.

There are seven lords of the council at this time put off council, and seven others put in, most of them north country gentlemen.

Hoptoun, heretable sherrif of West Loudian, refused to take the Test, (some suspect him of popery), and another is put in his room. Middleton, that was governour of Blackness, being papist, demitts his charge, and goes for Flanders, where he was born of Scotts parents, having made up a considerable fortune to himself.

There being severalls that refuse to take the Test, as well of the ministrie as of others, and did publish in write their reasons against it, as did the bishop and synod of Aberdeen, and other ministers about Edinburgh and Haddington, and all the ministers of Argyle synod, excepting one, the counsell for satisfaction of them emitts an explanation of the Test, in which sense they allow only the clergy to take it, as follows :—

1. That the Confession of Faith, ratified parliament 1567, was formed in the infancy of our Reformation, and deserves its own praise ; yet by the Test we do not swear to every proposition and clause therein contained, but only to the true Protestant religion founded on the word of God, and contained in the Confession, as it is opposite to poperie and phanaticisme.

2. That by this test, or any clause therein contained, no invasion nor incroachment is intended or made upon the spiritual power of the church, as it was exercised by the apostles in the most pure primitive church for the first three centuries after Christ, which is still reserved entire to the church.

3. That this Test is without any prejudice to this episcopal government of his national church, which is declared by the 2d session, Act 1. Parl. 1. ch. 2, to be most agreeable to the word of God, and most suitable to monarchy, which his majesty upon all occasions has declared he will inviolably and unalterably observe.

This explanation made some few of the clergy accept of it, who at first scrupled it.

Archibald, Earl of Argyle, being called by the king's council to take it, he takes it with his own sense put on it.

There were eight of Argyle's advocats, whereof Sir George Lockhart, Sir John Dalrymple, and one Pringle, were of that number who gave under their hand their consultation anent this precept, declaring, for any thing he had said in his explanation of the test, he was neither criminally nor capitally guilty. This offended severals of his majesty's council. One of their number called acknowledged this fault in it, which the rest did not.

Upon the 12th day of December, being Munday, 1681, the Earle of Argyle was brought from the Castle of Edinburgh in coach, the governour of the Castle being with him, unto the Justiciary Court, (the Earle of Queensberry Justice-General, with his Lords of Justiciary, sitting in judgment), being ten hours in the morning, where that day they sat on Argyle's affair from ten in the morning to ten at night. The said earle had a speech before them, shewing his meaning of his explanation of the test, which was the ground of his indytment; as also shewing how loyall he had been from his youth to his prince; making mention also of his adherence to the protestant faith; as also Sir George Lockhart pled for him three hours time in a speech he had before them; notwithstanding the lybell is sustained and found relevant. The said earle is carried back again to the Castle that night. The day following he is brought down again to the Assize to compear before them, which was called to sit on his affair, where was present the Lord Montrose, Chancellour of the Assize, (his own cousin-german), and other noble persons; the Assize finds him guilty of treason. The affair as it stood is remitted to the king's majesty, without any sentence of condemnation past, untill they understood the king's mind, who before had writ-

ten unto them to take triall of the matter, but not to pass sentence untill he was acquainted.

One is sent up to acquaint the king with what was past concerning Argyle; but before the return comes, it is reported he gets a letter sent him from a private hand, showing him that he may lay his account with death, and that all doors were shut against him; whereupon he being affraid of his life, and not being closs prisoner, on the 20th day of December 1681, he makes his escape out of the Castle in his lakie's livery cloaths, being accompanied with Lady Sophia Lindsay, his step-daughter, (to witt, Baccarras' daughter), in carrying up her train behind her, who was led with a gentleman out of his chamber in the Castle down to the utter guards, and then took coatch waiting for her; the earle stepps up on the hinder part of the coatch as her lakie, and coming forgainst the Weigh-house, slips off and shifts for himself.* On the 21st day he is declared fu-

* It is reported that the earl, in his agitation, dropt the lady's gown when about to pass the centinel at the Castle-gate; but she, with admirable presence of mind, snatched up her train from the mud, and in a pretended rage threw it in Argyle's face, with many reproaches of "careless loun," &c. which so besmeared him, that his features were not recognised.—The following poem, which has no merit save its curiosity, is said to have been afterwards addressed by the earl to Lady Sophia.—It is transcribed from a MS. volume in the hand-writing of Wodrow, preserved in the Advocates' Library, and is entitled—

Earl of Argile's Verses to Lady Sophia Lindsay, after his Escape as her Page out of the Castle, 1682.

Daughter as dear as dearest child can be,
 Lady Sophia, ever dear to me;
 Our guardian angels doubtless did conspire
 To make you gain, and me to give this hire,

gitive by open proclamation at the Mercat-cross, and all persons inhibit to harbour him, or to furnish him with any necessars, or to

Not to requite, that I can never doe,
But somewhat suitable from me to you.

I am not rich, guineas tempt not your eyes,
Yet here are angels you will not despise.
You came ane angel in the case to me,
Expressly sent to guide and set me free.

Act. 12. 10. The great gate open'd of its own accord,
That word came in my mind, I praise the Lord.

Chron. 3. 5. 5. He that restrained of old the Schehemites,
I hope will now the cruell Benjamites,
Priests that doe want the pity of laymen,
Judges and counsellors that cry amen.
When I was out I knew not where I went,
I cryed to God, and he new angels sent.
If ye desire what passed since to me,
Read throw the book of psalms, and think on me.
Five hundred verse I send you here inclosed,
Which comfort me wherere I be exposed.

One telling of pardon, all cryed crucify.
Judas, the traitor of the deepest dye,
Cloathed his villany with such a lye :
He said he thought that he might take the pelf,
Our Lord by miracle might save himself ;
But when he saw what to the Just befell,
To shune his torment here he fled to hell.
Our blessed Lord gave up himself to free
From sin and death, the elect, you and me,
O ! blesse his name that hath of us such care,
Save for our good, we cannot lose a hair,
But will goe see good nature in a judge ;
That I am now escaped some doe grudge.

transport him over waters, under highest pains ; and on the 24th day of that month, he is declared forefault, and his arms ranversed,

I will not pray the halter ease their pain,
But rather that then they get me again,
I know not when, but I am sure to see
A righteouse Judge at lenth 'twixt them and me.

But to goe on :

God gives us as we need, you were my guide,
And I have found a noble place to hide ;
And if all fail, God saith himself he'l be
A hiding place environed for me.
Yet there is room, and I hope we shall meet,
And after all our sours shall tast of sweet.
There's room enough : O ! that we saw the day
That crowds wer flocking to find out the way,
Which, as its strait, alace, it seems o'ergrown
With want of trade, its hardly to be known.
A happy day that puts to such a search
Of what by nature we could never reach.

I'm apt to wander, need to be confined,
Not only in my body, but my mind.
I catched at shaddows, let my mind goe free
To follow vanity ; you did not see
My coursest tho'ts I checked ; but too much way
I gave to follies, which I tho't but play,
And might be lawfull ; but I did exceed
In time and place, and never taking heed,
I set myself, and spent my time to please
Those that by pinching have given me ane ease.
I have noo time to think on what is past,
Pray, God, support me, and direct at last.
The worlde is here, as I have ever seen,
All doe cry doun what is, up what hath been.

and torn at the Cross ; so that now he is divested of all his honours,
as well as of his lands and heretages.

Debates for government in church and state,
Are still the devil's delight ; our guardians hate,
Our presbyters themselves doe bishops call,
The curates now in France must have the wall.
Each priest in that old church was call'd a pope,
That king must now be head, and down that fope ;
What will become of bishops none doth know,
Down must their top-sails, if a storm doo blow.

Where shall our successour now fix himself,
Gallick or Roman, Gebelin or Guelf ?
The case is easy, doe but still mentain
Queen-worship, idols lawfull, that's the mean.
The Gallican and Roman church doe vye,
Not who are most religious, but most high ;
He's of their principles, he will not slack,
He will hold up, he will not loss his pack.
His raw religion is not yet soe great,
But he can love the one, the other hate.
To wear a crown he'll hast, cost what it may,
Our admirall, though tide and wind say nay,
He'll row, and work, and sulk it all the way ;
And if at worst that it doe come to blowes,
He knows of seconds that doe interpose.

There's nothing meant but pride of tyranny,
A dainty way to uniformity.
The triple crown, and this new gloriouse head,
May make brave work when you and I are dead.
All is but cheat till holyness get place,
Till gospell laws be rules, and God give grace.

January 12th, 1682, there are fourty horsemen comes to Lanerk,
and burns the Test within the city, and fixes a paper, wherein they

God's secret lawes are not still understood,
The wrath of man may work the churches' good ;
What we may see is far from me to say,
But God doeth what he will in his own way.
Peace is not promised here, yet we may see
Religion flourish to a great degree,
And Zion freed from human tyranny. }
This may be here ; but certainly above
There shall be alwise peace, and alwise love.
O happy place ! where we shall alwise see
The blessed sight, perfect felicity.
A place beyond our Ezechosan far,
Wher there is alwise peace, and never warr.
Let you and I meet at the throne of grace
By prayer now, till we see face to face ;
Since as your page I could noe longer stay,
Pray God reward you, and himself you guide,
And all good people wish, to you provide.

The noble friends I found here, greet you well,
How much they honour you, its hard to tell ;
Or how weel I am used, to say it all,
Might make you think that I were in Whitehall.
I eat, I drink, I ly, I lodge, soe weel,
It wer a folly to attempt to tell ;
Soe kindly cared for, furnished, attended,
Wer ye to chalk it down, you could not mend it.
I want for nothing, ye can't wish me better
For folk and friends. I have now filled my paper, }
To tell the rest would need another letter.
I thank God I'm in health, I wish that you
Be well and merry ; and, my dear, adieu.

declare, that by order of the States of Scotland, convened in a place, (for now they are come to states with it, and their estates, as they alledge, are made up of some commissioners from the most of the shires of Scotland, viz. discontented men up and down, and this is their states), they are commanded to come to Lanerk, and publish this their declaration for the satisfaction of the people, shewing the reasons why their estates have rejected the king, and looks no longer on him as king; and therein they enumerat his personal faults, together with the faults of his government, the casting out of the ministry, &c. They go to Haddingtoun and Dalkeith, and does the like. Dated at, February 15th, 1682.

January 14th, 1682, there is an act of council ordering the Covenant, Sanqhair Declaration, Rugland and Lanerk Declaration, and Cargill's Covenant, to be burnt at the Mercat-cross of Edinburgh by the hand of the new made hangman, (for the former hangman was executed for murdering a creiple blewgown, supposing to get money off him, covetousness the root of all evil;) and accordingly it was done on the 18th day of that moneth.*

The Date.

London. From Freedom House this your new sheet you see,
First that the old church Gallican is free,
And last of Rome's infallibility.

April 18, 1682. That very month St George the Dragon slew,
Five days before, if that story be true.

* " Alexander Cockburn, hangman in Edinburgh, was hanged for murdering one Mackenzie, a blew gown, and hung in chains. The probation resulted on strong presumptions, as his denying that beggar was in his house that day, the contrar whereof was proven. *Item*, the finding bloody cloaths in his house, the hearing groans therefrae; yet dyed without confessing. One Mackenzie, whom Cockburn had undermined at Stirling, and got him thrust out of his place as hangman there, was his executioner. About the same time, the hangman of London was execute for murdering his wife. 19th January, 1682."—LORD FOUNTAINHALL'S *Diary*.

February 1682, a woman being brought to bed of a child in Newmills parish, where Mr Antony Shaw, an indulged minister, and an worthy man, was, the immediat parents of the child were desirous to have their child baptized by their minister the said Mr Antonie. The grandmother of the child opposed, and would needs have the child taken to Killmarnock in the night time, to have the child baptized by an unindulged minister who resided there for the time. For her satisfaction the parents condescended to it; and on a night going thither, the father of the child going forward to advertise the minister, the grandmother and two women (one of them carrying the child) slipped in a pit, where both the grandmother and child drowned; the other two women got out.

The close of the same moneth was a troupier killed in Carstairs parish, by some of the countrymen who were on their keeping.

This last summer, 1681, was a very dry summer and hot; the corns were very short through drought, the grass much withered universally, the brooks and streams dried up, (some effects, as appears, of the great comet the winter before;) the winter of this year, 1681, was very open; no frost, great rains universally, great inundations of seas and waters abroad.

March 1682, Major Learmont, an old soldier, and now about 77 years, and a taylor to his trade, who was at Pentland Hills in the insurrection, 1666, and at Bothwell-Bridge insurrection, 1679, was taken in his own house within three miles of Lanerk, in a vault which he diged under ground, and penned for his hiding; it had its entry in his own house, upon the syde of a wall, and closed up with a whole stone, so closs as that non would have judged it but to have been a stone of the building; it descended below the foundation of the house, and was in length about 40 yards, and in the far end, the other mouth of it, was closed with faill, having a faill dyke builded upon it, so that with ease when he went out he shutt out

the faill, and closed it again. Here he sheltered for the space of 16 years, by taking himself to it at every alarum, and many times hath his house been searched for him by the soldiers; but where he sheltered non was privy to it but his own domesticks, and at length he is discovered by his own herdsman. He is carried before the council, and examined; confesses he was at Pentland Hills, and at Bothwell-Bridge fight, but came only there to advise the people to accept of the Duke of Monmouth's offers he made them in the king's name.

March 12, 1682, being the Sabbath night, Sempill of Beltries dies suddenly at Paisley, being well when he lay down in his bed; within a little after he is in bed falls a tumbling and tossing, and gets no rest; his lady being in bed with him, rises from him, calls for her maid, and hights him with some bed cloaths, and he having given two large gants expires. He was sheriff deput, and on the next Twesday to sit his court on some persons within Arsken and Inchinnan parish, for disorderly baptisimes, &c. Aforehand, it is said, he threatned to fyne severely. We have all need to be on our watch tower; we know not when death may come.*

* John Sempill of Beltrees, son of Robert, third Lord Sempill, by a daughter of the Lord Carliel of Torthorwald, married Mary, daughter of Alexander, fifth Lord Livingston.—Queen Marie, by charter, dated 9th March 1564, granted to them the lands of Auchtermuchty and others, till they should be provided in an estate of L.500 a-year, (ratified by act of parliament, 19th April, 1567), in consideration of the long continued services of Mary Livingston, her majesty's familiar servitrice, and John Sempill, her daily and familiar servitour.—This lady was one of the queen's Maries, and consequently detested by Knox, who observes, "it was weill known, that schame haistit mariage betwix Johne Sempill, called the Danser, and Marie Livingstoun, surnamed the Lustie."—*History*, p. 345.—The Regent Morton attempting to secure to himself the estates granted by Queen Marie to Sempill, through a pretext that the royal lands could not be disjoined from the crown, Sempill resolved to assassinate him, for which he was tried and convicted, but pardoned, on what account is unknown, by

February 1682, there were strange apparitions seen in and about Glasgow, and strange voices, and wild shrieks and cries;

the Earl.—*Historie of King James the Sext*, p. 261.—His son, Sir James Sempill, was ambassador to England, 1599, and author of the "Packman and the Priest," a satire of some merit; he married Egidia, daughter of Elphinston of Blythwood, and had a son, Robert Sempill of Beltrees, author of "The Life and Death of the Pyper of Kilbarchan," a poem that has enjoyed its full share of celebrity, and is now valuable, merely as being the first of that popular race of hobbling elegies in which Scottish poets have taken great delight, and as containing some curious traits of manners, not to be found elsewhere.—For instance, it would seem that the minstrel had formerly the privilege of leading the bride in those superstitious processions round the church, once so carefully performed to secure good fortune after marriage.

" He was convoyer of the bride,
With kittock hinging at his side,
About the kirk he thought a pride
The ring to lead,
But now she may go but a guide,
For Habbie's dead."

Robert Sempill married a daughter of Lyon of Auldbar; his son Francis was devoted to the Stuart family, and exercised the poetical talent of his own in panegyrics on King James VII., addresses on the births of his children, and satires aimed at the whigs. If these have little merit, his "Banishment of Poverty," and the song, "She rose and let me in," display no mean poetical genius.—He married a daughter of Campbell of Ardkinglass, by whom he had a son Robert, who by Mary, sister of Sir Robert Pollock of Pollock, had Robert Sempill, born 8th January, 1687, who well remembered being present at the execution of the witches on the Gallo-green at Paisley, 1679, and died July 1789, in the 103d year of his age.—Robert, fourth Lord Sempill, is supposed to have been the author of various poetical pieces, the chief of which is *Philotus*, "Ane Play made by Robert Sempill, and performed before the lord regent and divers others of the nobility, 17th January, 1568."—*Birrell's Diary*.—But as it is affirmed, that Lord Sempill continued to profess the popish religion, this appears doubtful, Flavius's conjuration, when he mistakes Emilie for an evil spirit, in no manner suiting with a true believer in the powers of St Peter's successors, or the miracles of the Golden Legend.

particularly one night about the Deansyde-well, was heard a cry, Help! Help! The souldiers on the guard, supposing it had been some fallen in that well, went to see, and the voice went before them, which they followed some way off, which took its way into the city, and up to the Windhead; the centries about the Windhead declared they saw a thing like a great sow, and heard a voice, which they that followed did also see; two of the centrie men were so affrighted, that they fell unwell with it. Another night, a gentlewoman living below the Grammar School, coming home late with her servant-woman, saw a woman cloathed in white passing before them with a wild schriech, whereat they were affraid, and taking into a closs, disappeared.

About the same time, February 1682, in the house of Major-General Montgomerie, (old Eggleton's son,*) at Irvine, there being some things of silver work stollen in that house from his lady, there is a servant women of their own they blame for them; the lass being innocent takes it ill, and tells them, if she should raise the devil, she should know who took these things that were missed, which they let pass lightly as a rash word; but she being resolute, was as good as her word, and on a day goes down to a laich cellar, takes the Bible with her, and draws a circle about her, and turns a riddle on end twice from south to north, or from the right to the left hand, having in her hand nine feathers, which she pulled out of the tail of a black cock, and having read the 51st forward, she reads

* *i. e.* Eglintoune's son.—Major-General Robert Montgomery, fifth son of Alexander, sixth Earl of Eglintoune (who, on account of his courage, had the popular appellation of Gray Steel) was at the Restoration, 1660, appointed one of the gentlemen of his majesty's bed-chamber. He married Elizabeth, only daughter of James, first Viscount of Kilsyth.

backward, chap. 9. ver. 19. of the Book of the Revelation;* he appears in a seaman's cloathing, with a blew cape, and asks what she would; she puts one question to him, and he answers it; and she casts three of the feathers at him, charging him to his place again, then he disappears at this time. He seemed to her to rise out of the earth to the midle body. She reads again the same verse backward the second time, and he appears the second time rising out of the ground with one leg above the ground; she asks a second question, and she casts other three feathers at him, charging him to his place, he again disappears. She reads again the third time the same verse backward, and he appears the third time with his whole body above ground, (the last two times in the shape of a black grim man in black cloathing, and the last time with a long tail;) she asks a third question at him, and casts the last three feathers at him, charging him to his place, and he disappears. The major-generall and his lady being above stairs, though not knowing what was a-working, were sore affraid, and could give no reason of it; the dogs in the city making a hideous barking round about. This done, the woman in a gast, and pale as death, comes and tells her lady who had stollen her things she missed, and that they were in such a chest in her house, belonging to some of the servants, which being searched was found accordingly. Some of the servants suspecting her to be about this work, tells the major of it, and tells him they saw her go down to the cellar; he lays her up in prison, and she confesses as is before related, telling them that she had learned it in Doctor Colvin's

* "For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails; for their tails were like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt." After 51 in the MS., there is a blank which probably should be supplied by the word Psalm.

house in Ireland, who used to practise this. This was a high tempting of God.*

Some years before this a gentleman, stiled Bonie-moon, in the north, goes to Paris, in France, upon some occasion ; being there he falls in with a father confessor, a young man, having severall debates with him about religion, and falling scarce of money, he helps him with as much as carried him home ; and being at home, he used

* From this anecdote, and others of a like nature, it would seem that Satan is fond of appearing in blue. In the year 1672, David Jones, as sailors familiarly term him, was seen in a ship at Newcastle, wearing a seaman's habit, and with a blue cravat.—*Vide* p. 46.—One of the boys tormented by the witches in New England, said he saw a black thing with a blue cap (doubtless the devil) tormenting of him, “ and he complained most bitterly of a hand put into the bed to pull out his bowels.”—*Cotton Mather's late Memorable Providences*, p. 10.—In Sweden, he wore blue stockings and long garters, according to the account of the Witchcrafts of Elsdale. Sometimes, however, his stockings were red ; his coat on such occasions gray. He had also a red beard, and a high crowned hat, with linen of divers colours wrapt about it. Of the Satanical fashion of blue caps, it may be observed, that, in the year 1643, Cozens, bishop of Durham, was severely censured for having our blessed Saviour's picture set up in his cathedral with a blue cap upon his head.—*A Collection of certain Proceedings in Parliament*.—And the Blue Cap Reformation was a contemptuous name given by the English to the efforts of the Scottish Covenant. The covenanters assumed this colour, as denoting Christianity (“ The blew he bers, because he is a Crysten man.”—*Wallace*, B. ix.) and constancy. Spalding gives a very amusing account of the slaughter which they committed upon the messens, or lap-dogs of Aberdeen, round whose necks the royalists had tied blue ribbands, in scorn of their Solemn League. On the subject of blue caps, it may be farther noted, that Wodrow, in his History, records a very singular phenomenon which occurred in the year 1684, previous to the invasions of the Duke of Monmouth and the Earl of Argyle. “ I need scarce add, that in December, this year, at Glasgow, and some other places, multitudes of people imagined they saw bonnets, black, blue, and of several colours, falling down from the air upon them. Generally, by sensible persons, this was looked upon as a *deceptio visus*, and the power of imagination. It was odd, however, that next year, when the militia came to the west against Argyle, they had just the same bonnets ; and at the Cross, Green, and other places, where the bonnets were alledged to be seen, the militia swarmed most.”—*History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 454.

to keep the kirk and hear his conformist minister ; and on a certain Sabbath there being a field-meeting near hand, he goes to hear him that was to preach there ; when he comes he finds, upon serious looking to the preacher, and calling himself to mind, that it was the same father confessor he had conversed with in Paris ; he takes him home with him, and makes himself known to him, and asks him how he came to Scotland. The father confessor required secrecy, and told him, that his holiness having heard of the disorders of the church, had sent 300 of them into Brittain, to preach up and down in fields and houses as did the presbyterian ministers, and to distill their principles drop by drop upon the people, untill they bring them into confusion and disunion. He advised him to go out of that bounds least he should be taken, which he did.

March 1682, Barscobe, who was at Pentland Hills and Bothwell fight, was taken on a Sabbath morning ; the occasion of it was this. A cornet, of the name of Grahame, in Claverse troop, who was then lying in these bounds, where the said Barscobe was living, going to see an aunt of his with three or four troupers with him, passes the way of his house ; the said Barscobe observing their coming, supposed they were coming to search his house, and to apprehend him as they did Learmont, goes out of his house, and runs to a wood near by, with other two with him that were upon their keeping. This cornet observing them run in to the wood, suspects them to be guilty persons, and follows them and apprehends them. Barscobe being taken before the council acknowledges his guilt, and that he was misled in his late actions.

About the end of March, the king's majesty writes to Duke Hamilton to take the Test, which he does after a long forbearance, and is made president to the king's council. He is allowed for his attendance 1000 lib. sterling.

The parliament of Scotland is adjourned to the 17th of June next ensuing.

Aprile 1682, a man, dwelling in the Drygate of Glasgow, one Thomas Craig, rising be five in the morning to look out to the weather, and coming from the door lyes immediately down again, and complained of a sore head, fell immediately into a lethargie, being without speech, hearing, or sight, only breathed high, and dies of it at ten hours at night, which minds me of two remarkable stories; ane is of one William Hutcheson, son to the gardiner of the College Yards of Glasgow, goes out to the yards on a Tuesday, and lyes down to take a sleep in a privat place of the yeard be two afternoon; he sleeps night and day untill Friday at three in the afternoon, and a litle past it, being wakened by one Robert Birkmire, occasionally walking in the yeard and stepping into that rod, he touches him with his foot, and after a long tougging he wakens; he challenges him for his absence from his father's house, and putting his father to such a fright in seeking of him up and down, and asked him when he lay down to take sleep, supposing he had been elsewhere, and but newly come there; after the young man is thoroughly wakened, he looks first up to the horologe in the Tolbooth, and replies, What needs all this adoe, it's but little over an hour I have slept, I lay down at two hours, and now it's but a little past three; and then the man asks him what day he took this to be? He replies, It is Tuesday, said he; Nay, but says the man, it is Friday, and your father has caused seek after you all this time; whereat he wonders, he declares he was exceeding thirsty, and having received drink he was refreshed. The other instance is of a Dutchman, a printer to his calling, who being at Aberdeen, fell asleep in the ordinary time of night for sleeping, and slept thirty days and nights, and by no means could be awakened all that time; afterwards he comes to Glasgow, and serves Robert Sanders the printer: This was verified, not only by his own declaration, but also by the testimony of these that were witnesses of it.

In this age many remarkable things have been; among others, a

woman had a horn growing out of her forehead, like to a sheep horn; she caused cut it by the root. The College of Edinburgh has it a keeping, set in silver about the root of it, bearing her name and age, and the time of its growth: She is yet living in this year, 1682, and has an other horn growing out of the same place.*

Also, it is remarkable, that in the day of the sickening of the Laird and Lady Kilburnie, whereof they shortly died, his dogs went in to the closs, and an unco dog coming in amongst them, they all set up a barking, with their faces up to heaven, howling, yelling, and youphing; and when the laird called upon them they would not come to him, as in former times when he called on them; the same day they sickened.

Sicklike before Luss' death, his dog went up to a chamber in the night time, and made a hideous lamentable like noise, and tore down the curtains about the bed in the chamber, there being non in it.—When my Lord Rosse sickened, his dogs came up the stair towards his chamber, howling and yooffing lamentably; he caused shoot them all one after another as they were found doing that, anno 1682, in the month of Aprile. He dieth May 4th thereafter, Mr Baird, Mr Ecclesse, and Mr Stirling, ministers, being with him.

In this year, 1682, in the moneths of March and Aprile, there was a great murrain amongst the cattle in all parts of our country, many of them dying in the fields of a disease that the country people understood not; it was supposed by some to be weakness,

* “Arthure Temple of Ravelridge, having, upon the 14th day of May 1671, cut a horn out of the head of Elizabeth Low, eleven inches long, cause fit it with a silver chain and plate, containing the witnesses names, and made a present of it by his son Mr Andrew to shew his respects to us, and as a specimen of his rare skill in such a strange event.”—*MS. Catalogue of the College Museum*.—The horn, which is still preserved, is said in the Catalogue to hang “besides the skeleton,” which was the skeleton of a Frenchman, brought from Paris by Dr Michael Young, “who, physician-like, frightened us at first sight.”

through the want of fodder, for the last year's crop, though there were corns, yet the straw, through drought of the last summer, was so short and inlaking, as that the beasts were hardly maintained with it in the winter and spring time; by others it was thought that the last winter being so open and full of rain, and this spring so cold with the east winds and rain in Aprile, as that it occasioned the weakness and diseases of the cattell; the straw then was universally wanting, that they cut heather for their beasts to live on, and pulled down the straw thatch of their houses to feed them with.

About this time, a gentleman going in to Fyfe with his wife, who had an interest lying in it, lays his pistols on the table of his chamber, giving command to his man to discharge them that night, which he neglected; the gentleman supposing they had been discharged, takes up one of them in the morning, cocks it, and presents it to his wife in the bed, bidding her arise, else he would shoot her; he lets fall the dog, the pistoll goes off, and his wife is killed with it; he, standing astonished, calls for his man, and quarrels him for not discharging the pistols, and shoots the other pistol at him, wherewith he is killed. This done, immediately he himself falls upon his own sword, a sad tragedy, like to that whereof the poet speaks:—

Vervex cum puero, puer alter, sponsa, maritus

Cultello, lympha, fune, dolore cadunt.

At this same time, in Sir John Dalrymple of New Listoun his house, son of the late President of the Session, two of his sons, young ones, pistols being lying on the table, one of them takes up a pistol, and presents it to his brother and shoots it, wherewith he is killed. The president had a daughter before this time, being married, the

night she was bride in, she was taken out from her bridegroom and harled through the house, and afterward died ; another daughter was supposed to be possessed with an evil spirit.* Some years be-

* “ James, first Lord Stair, married Margaret, daughter to Ross of Balneel, with whom he got a good estate ; and the weaker sort of people say, that to this woman is owing the present grandeur of the Dalrymple’s family ; they repute her nothing less than a witch, and that she had made a contract with the devil, to raise her husband and his issue to the heighth they are now arrived at. She lived to a great age ; and at her death desired that she might not be put under ground, but that her coffin should stand upright on one end of it, promising that while she remained in that situation the Dalrymple should continue to flourish. What was the old lady’s motive for the request, or whether she really made such a promise, I shall not take upon me to determine ; but its certain her coffin stands upright in the isle of the church of Kirklistown, the burial-place belonging to the family ; and its probable the odd position of her corpse, and the sudden rise of so many of that name, without any very visible reason, may give occasion to that vulgar conjecture, that the lady was a witch.”—*Memoirs of the Life, Family, and Character of John, late Earl of Stair, by an impartial Hand.*— This witch, whose memory is still terrible to the lower rank of superstitious in Scotland, however she might advance the fortunes of some of her family, is also said, through her pactions with the arch enemy of mankind, to have been the cause of that mysterious disaster which marked her daughter’s nuptials ; but tradition varies extremely respecting the circumstances. One edition of the story is this :—Dame Maggy (for by that homely appellation she is most commonly remembered) did not approve of her eldest daughter’s choice of a husband, though her attachment had been sanctioned by Lord Stair himself, and the rest of the young lady’s family. After a vain opposition, during which the girl proved very headstrong, her mother told her—‘ Weel, ye may marry him, but sair shall ye repent it.’ And accordingly, on the bridal evening, after Lady Stair herself had locked the door of the chamber where the young couple lay, and carried away the key, a precaution usual at that time, in order to prevent numberless coarse jokes meditated by the marriage guests, most dismal shrieks and groans were heard to issue from the bed-room, which alarmed every member of the household ; the key was immediately called for, and it is alledged that Lady Stair relinquished it with remarkable unwillingness and delay. When the door was opened, a shocking spectacle presented itself : The young lady, weltering in her blood, lay extended upon the bed, and her husband, in a state of idiotcy, was seated

fore this, Mr Nairne, late minister at the Weems, being in Edinburgh, and coming in to a gentleman's chamber of his acquaintance,

in the chimney, glaring with his eyes, and laughing in a hideous manner.—Another account is, that the lady was compelled to marry, contrary to her inclination, as her heart was engaged beforehand; and that after she retired with the bridegroom into the nuptial chamber, the door being locked, she attacked him furiously with a knife, and wounded him severely before any one could gain admittance. When the door was broken open, the youth was found half dead upon the floor, and his wife in a state of the wildest madness, exclaiming—‘Take up your bonnie bridegroom.’—It is added, that she never regained her senses; and that her husband, who recovered of his wounds, would bear no questions on the subject of his marriage, taking even a hint of that nature as a mortal affront to his honour. But this last tradition seems not so probable as the other, because it does not implicate Lady Stair, whose witchcrafts on the same occasion are hinted at in a gross lampoon still extant in MS., composed upon her eldest son the Earl of Stair, who is described as

“A brat of ane unburied b—h,
Got by Beelzebub on a witch,
Whose malice oft was wreckt at home,
On the curst cubbs of her own womb.”

There is in the same collection an elegy upon the lady herself, which the Editor subjoins for no other reason than its curiosity, the poetry being contemptible, much of the meaning obscure, and the MS. replete with errors of transcription. What, perhaps, created Lady Stair more enemies than even the exaltation of her family, was her own violent turn towards conventicles, and the fostering of silenced preachers in her house. The transcriber of the following verses, who appears to have been no friend of the Dalrymple family, justly terms them in the margin, “Most unchristian expressions.”

*Satyrick Lines upon the long wished-for and timely death of the Right Honourable
Lady Stairs.*

News, news, my muse, on Friday be it said,
It's now confirmed the Witch of Endor's dead,

who had newly come to town, viz. Killermont, his pistols being lying on the board, and he taking up one of them to look to her, at

And all men wonders what kind devill is this
 Of such a monster hath bereaved us ;
 Now Cerberus at the doors of hell, crys out,
 With hideous noise and many grievous shout,
 Open your doors, ye devills, and prepare
 A room that's warm for honest Lady Stair !
 Shall you, my muse, be silent longer then,
 When every poet occupies his pen ?
 Come on, come on, be quick, it's no abuse
 To whip about the devill of Glenluce ;
 Cry out for joy of what some ever station,
 Who love the peace and welfare of your nation.
 Let peace possess your mind, your will you've gotten,
 My Lady Stairs is dead and almost rotten ;
 Be glad and joyful at this luckie's death,
 Great Melville, with your faction, Leven and Raith,
 Who for your sakes at court did so prevail
 To make a secretary a privie seall.
 Rejoice all clubbers, Ross and Skermorlie,
 Dalrymple's faction now has lost ane eye.
 The moon shall shortly change, be glad and merry,
 My Lady Stair is over Charron's ferrie.
 Johnston rejoice with your friend Ormiston,
 * Hamilton. And you Sir William* with Duke Hamilton ;
 The catt which crossed your cushion in the church
 Is dead, and left her kitlins in the lurch.
 A strange unluckie fate to us befell,
 Which sent her thus a cateing into hell.
 Will Baillie then, with Commissar Monroe,
 Rejoice, for auntie now has got her fatall blow ;
 She will perplex and trouble you no more,
 Hell's turnkey now has shut the fatall door.

this instant comes in at the door another minister ; he presented the pistol to him, saying, Have at you, Billie !—Killermont seeing him, flies to him, and holds his hand, telling him that she was charged, which, to prove, he opens a window, and letts fall the dog, which he had lifted up, whereat she goes off ; he stood astonished and grew pale at it, and blessed God for his good providence. Certainly it is Sathan that prompts the hearts of men and children to such presumptuous actings to adventure to shoot guns, whereof they

Goe to then, Mr Turnbull, when you please,
And sit upon your own coat-taill at ease ;
Goe sit upon your own coat-taill, for well I wot
The dog is dead which tore your petticoate.

Court parasites, put on your murning weed,
Hell's plaigues and emissaries, for she's dead,
Who was the greatest stoup in all the nation
To Jamie Wyllie's* cursed generation.

* Sir James Stewart.

Now, Lady Crichton you may stir your stumps,
Your flying days are done, put on your pumps ;
That Stair shall shortly follow, here's a token,
Your strongest pillar's lately fallen and broken ;
Though it so very long has stood agee
That mankind surely shall its ruin see,
And shortly great the fall of it shall be.

Her Epitaph.

Here lyes our auntie's coffin, I am sure,
But where her bodie is, I cannot tell ;
Most men affirm they cannot well tell where,
Unless both soul and body be in hell.
It is just, if all be true that's said,
The Witch of Endor was a wretched sinner ;
And if her coffin in the grave be laid,
Her body's rosted to the devil's dinner.

are ignorant whether charged or not, and to present them to others in a frolick way ; and these examples may teach all men prudence either to discharge their guns before they enter houses with them, or to lock them in to some secure place that non may win at them, and to be warre and circumspect in the handling of these instruments. Take these three examples for warning, to omitt others: A dragoon going from Glasgow east, after he is past the Light Hill, he alights to ease nature, laying his gun by him ; being done, he takes up the gun by the far end and harles her to him, with which the dog went up and fell down again, and he is shot through the heart ; he is buried where he died, and a small heap of stones cast upon him, as a remembrance of that fact. Another instance: M'Farland his son going with his father in a boat to a house he had in Lochlomont, charges the gun in the boat, holding the gun between his knees, having aforehand bend her, she goes off and shoots him through the head. A third instance: An Englishman, in Cromwell's time, being in Glasgow, seeking to empty his gun of an old charge, and she being on half bend, takes her by the far end, and strikes her against the loft above his head, holding his left hand under the mouth, she goes off and shoots him through the hand. Mounsmeg, a great iron cannon in the Castle of Edinburgh, so big as a man might have lyen in her, being overcharged at the first landing of the Duke of York, the king's brother, at Leith, in Scotland, when fired to salute him burst asunder. Also, a gentleman, in West Lothian, shooting an unfixed gun, the dock flies out and strikes in his brow, whereof he dies. Mr James Blair, late minister at Cathcart, having drest a roustie gun by the hand of a country smith, charges her and sets her by in the house ; a pyet, the next day, after alighting on a tree in his yeard, craiks as is usuall with them, he being at dinner, immediately arises and takes out his gun and fires at her ; the dock flies from the gun and stricks him in into

the brow, where it stuck a long time, whereof he dies. Hastie actions are seldom prosperous. A youth, of the surname of Mallynnie, in Kilpatrick Easter, having an unfixed gun also, seeing a heron in a meadow, fires her at her; the dock flees from the gun, and stricks him in the brow, so that he died of it. Also, it is not safe to shoot a gun often at one time: Two young men, sons to a minister, after they had commenced masters of arts at the Colledge, for their recreation desired a gun to shoot water-fouls, they living beside the water of Greife; he that sold the gun fires her once to prove her justness, the elder brother fires her the second time, the second brother fires her the third time; this was done immediately one after another, and when she was fired she burst out in her chamber, powder and drops, and the broken iron of the gun, all going over his left arm, and by the good providence of God no way hurt in any part of his body, for which he blessed God, and never lifted a gun after that time to shoot her, deeming that he was called to some other exercise. Many examples might be adduced, to warn folks against the rash and inconsiderat use of the gun; but let these suffice that are above-mentioned. Only take this further, in the last place, which shews us that it is not safe at any time to carry guns half bended, or to set them by half bended. A gentleman, in the Colledge of Glasgow, going out to take pastime with his gun of a half bend, a young man being in the company, one Thomas Wingat, and at some distance from him that caryed the gun, she goes off, (it could not be told how,) and the said Thomas is shot with the drops in severall parts of his body, and an eye of his put out.

In this month of May, 1682, the murrain, or death, among the cattle continues yet in the country. In the Highlands, some tenants lost 30, others 40 cows, besides what was in the Lowlands, and in the north a great number dying.

The king's majesty having sent for his brother the Duke of York, then at Edinburgh, March last, to come to him to Newmercat-toun in England, he takes shipping, and suffering a great storm at sea, he lands nearer hand, and rides to Newmercat, went to London, and was entertained there by the artillery-company. Coming home to Scotland to bring his lady, with some noblemen and others in his ship, May 5th, 1682, his ship strands on Yermouth sands, and breaks all peices; the duke escapes with the skipper and others in the ship-boat, and goes in to some of the ships that accompanied him; having given them nottice aforehand by the shot of a cannon of his disaster, the rest of the ships sent out their boats to rescue as many as they could; but ere they could get at them the ship was broken in pieces, and they were perished, viz. the Earle of Roxburgh, and the Laird of Hoptoun, and an Irish nobleman, with 200 others, gentlemen, English and Scots, attendants and servants of the duke and other noblemens. He came to Leith, and was much weighted with his losse, and puts the skipper in prison in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

There came down also in another ship some of those that went up with the Duke. The Marquis of Queensberry came by land, who is now made sole Treasurer of Scotland. Sir George Gordon of Haddo came with the duke in the same ship, President of the Session, and is now made Chancellour of Scotland. Duke Hamilton is made a counsellor, and Lieutenant-General Drummond, and so is the Earle of Tweddale, having taken the test. At this time there was a great uproar at Edinburgh raised by the prentices and tradesmen, occasioned through the Dutch officers taking of men for that war; some whereof being imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh for that tumult, and being carried down to the Tolbooth of the Cannongate with a guard of soldiers, a woman having her pigs broken

by some of the souldiers, she casts the sheards at them; many running to behold the fray, and going downward to the Netherbow, near to which there was a house building, some of the multitude took up stones, and threw at the soldiers, whereupon they turned, and fired severall guns at them, kills seven men and two women, (whereof one was with child, and cut out of the belly, and is baptized in the streets), and wounds twenty-five men besides, whereof severalls died of their wounds.—It was reported credibly, that in the spring of the year 1682, in the island Eilla in the west seas, there was a bay in that island that for severall dayes the seas flow'd in upon it with water like to blood in colour.—The parliament of Scotland is again adjurned to November next.

Amongst these that perished in the ship wherein the Duke of York was, May 5th, at his downcoming to Scotland, was lost Lord Hyde, his good brother. There was no storm at all at this time when this ship stranded, which makes it the more admirable. The Irish nobleman that perished at that time was the Lord Brine. It is reported, that severalls that could swim, flocking about the boat to save their lives, and laying their hands on her, had them cut off. The Earle of Roxburgh was heard crying for a boat, offering 20,000 guineas for ane, but could get non. Mr James Litherdall, his attendant and servant, being an able and strong sweemer, takes him on his back, and sweeming forward to the boat, meets with one of the number that perished floating on the water, who layes hold on them both, and draws them under water, whereupon the earle loosed his grips and perished. The said Mr James sweem'd forward to the boat, and was taken up; but being overset, died within an hour. Sir George Gordon of Haddo leeping into the boat, missed and did loup in the sea, and at his upcoming, was taken up by the hair up to the boat.

Some few days after, the duke came down to Scotland in the same

month of May. He takes shipping at Leith, with his dutchess and daughter, and goes for England. Letters came down to stop his voyage as was thought; but they came too late, for the duke was gone before they came.

August 1682, did a comet appear in the north-west, and in the north-east. Its first appearance at Glasgow was on the 17th of that month; the star was big, and the tail broad and long, at the appearance of four yards, and continued till 20 days was at an end.

August 25th, 1682, died the great minister of state the Duke of Lauderdale at the Wells in England, near London. Before this time he was paralitick, and was disinabled from council and advice giving. The king's council in Scotland advised the king to call in all his pensions he had given to any person, hereby to reach him, and to dispose of them of new, which accordingly was done; thus Lauderdale's pension of L.4000 pounds Sterling was taken from him, which he complains of to the king, and entreats his majesty to consider him, that his old and faithful servant might not die in poverty, yet was not granted. He disheartens at this, and being advised by some of the chief physicians in England to go to the Wells, (some of them going with him) after some dayes drinking he swells; then being advised to take the water with salt, it purges him, and so purged him as that he died of it. Some report, that eight years aforehand he should have told to some that he would die at the Wells.*

* "The Duke of Lauderdale dyed 24th August, 1682, att Tunbridge Wells, the learnedest and most powerfull minister of state in his age. Discontent and age were the chiefe ingredients of his death, if his dutches and physicians were frie of it; for she abused him most grossly, and had gotten all from him she could expect, and was glad to be quyt of him. The Duke of York and he differed, and the king cast down his countenance at him for voting the Viscount of Stafford guilty of the pretended Po-

August 1682, Lord Hattoun, the Duke of Lauderdale's brother, who carried a great sway for a time in Scotland, was charged by the

pish Plot, for which he was most unjustly executed, though innocent. Yet he waited on the king to and from the Oxford parliament, when his majesty was in great straits by his rebellious parliament. The duke was not grateful to him, for he advised to bring him from Flanders in October 1679, which contributed much to the duke's advantage. It is true, Lauderdale's main aim (and so is all great men's designs to uphold themselves) was to preserve himself, for the Duke of Monmouth, who then ruled all, and Duke Hamilton combining, were to break him, and he saw the only way to disappoint them was to bring home York; and again, when England was too hot for York, he advised the king to send him to Scotland, where his party made the interest he got there. Yet, after all, he deserted his brother, Lord Hatton, and let him fall a sacrifice to his enemies, such as to the Erle of Aberdeen, Chancellor Queensberry, Lord Dundee, anent the mint affair, albeit Hatton was the most fixt loyalist that ever was in his name; but the Duke of Lauderdale was hated for ruining the memory of his own family, and giving Dudingston to his dutchess, and Ledington to her son, Lord Huntingtour, thought by some to be his own son. The last, Ledington, was not lawfully purchased, for it belonged to the grandchildren of William Maitland, secretary to Queen Mary, his grand uncle, who lived in Rowen, in France, to whom the duke paid a small yearly pension. His place of Knight of the Garter was given to his greatest enemy, Duke Hamilton, and that of secretary to Earl Middleton, whose father Lauderdale discounted. His corps came to Scotland, October 1682, put in Inveresk Kirk, from thence transported to Haddington, where he was interred, 5th Aprile, 1683. Paterson, Bishop of Edinburgh, preached his funeral sermon (ane of his creatures, but following all courts,) at Inveresk, on Corinthians, xv. and 55,—'O, Death, where is thy sting?'—who ascribed any errors committed in the end of his days to his dutches and brother, Hatton. At the distribution of the charity at his death, one of the beggars, called Bell, stobbed another beggar, for which he was hanged.

"His brother, Hatton, was turned out of the Mint, and all the under officers, 31st October, 1682, and ordered to be pursued civilly and criminally for maleversation; and in him fell the power of the Maitlands. He was little regarded, being very insufficient, which acquired him many enemies, especially amongst the nobility. He expected that the Duke of York would not have left him, because of the many friends he had made for him when he came to Scotland, but there was a necessity to part with him, because of the current that ran against him; and, besides, Keppermishoo

king's council for embezzling the mint-money, of which he had the charge for many years ; and they make it out upon him before the king, whereupon he is denuded of all his places, and declared incapable by the king of all trust, and the council ordered to pursue him in law for repairing of the money, which was a great sum, some say a million. Rare to find great courteers die in court, I say not at court.

Lord Argyle, in September 1682, was pursued at London, where he was on his hiding, and did escape.

October 1682, Sir James Dalrymple of Stairs, late President of the Session, fearing to be apprehended and impeached, fled to Holland, and afterward was summoned at the peir of Leith for compearance.

October 20th, 1682, was that great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, and, as astrologers write, is the seventh since the creation of the world. Great changes use to follow this conjunction ; there was one before the Flood of Noah, another before Christ's birth, &c.

October, November, and December 1682, and January 1683, is great pressing of people to the church throughout the west, in the cities and country, and great fynes extracted from those that went not. The king's majesty suffers the first indulged ministers to preach, but leaves the connived at ministers to the council, where-

accused him of perjury. He was also staged with bribery, for taking 14,000 merks fra the taxmen of the excise of Lowthean, in procuring them the tack, August 1682. His place of thes. dep. was given to Drummond of Lundie, afterwards Duke of Melfort ; his place in the session was given to Wauchope of Edmiston ; his sherriffship of Mid-Lothian was given to the Earle of Dalhousie.

"John Falconer of Phesdo, late warden of the mint, (father of Lord Phesdo,) hanged himself for being affred he would be criminally prosecuted for malversations in the mint."—LORD FOUNTAINHALL'S *Diary*, MS.

upon they have the test put to them, and they relinquish their charge.

November 1682, did two in Edinburgh city, an agent, and a master of the mint-house, strangle themselves, and another man in Falkirk drown himself, all in one week.

November 1682, died Prince Rupert, nephew to King Charles the First, being of age 63, having in his heart a bone when he was dissected, and in his reins a stone with a hole through the midle, whereof passed the water, and kept him from pain.*

* Prince Rupert, who dedicated the latter part of a turbulent life to study and retirement, was strongly suspected to be a proficient in the occult sciences; indeed, as early as the year 1642, rumours were circulated respecting his supernatural attributes. This we learn from a curious original letter, addressed by Marie, the daughter of King Charles I, and Princess of Orange, to Lady Lillias Drummond, daughter of the Earl of Perth, which is still preserved at Drummond Castle. It was written in the childhood of the princess, and is directed—

“For my deere Lady Lillies.

“Deare Lady Lillies, hier is very good neuse come. Prince Rupert hes kiled fiftin hundred men with his one hand, and Collonell Dugles was the chife commander. They say Prince Rupert is a divell, for hee hes cloven fitt. Prince Maurice is a littel hurt. Soe deare Lady Lillies love me still, for I am your most feathfull and loving freand,

MARIE.

“Hage, this 22 of October, 1642.”

In the year 1645, one of the Suffolk wizards confessed that he had sent a present of imps to Prince Rupert. *Dr HUTCHINSON'S Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft.*—The nature of which imps may be more readily understood from what is called the Testimony of Sir Thomas Bowes, Knight, which he spake upon the bench, concerning Anne West, she being then at the bar upon her trial for witchcraft, that same year, 1645.—“A very honest man of Mannintree, (one Goff of Mannintree, a glover,)

At this time is Duke Hamilton made Knight of the Garter, and preses to the king's council of Scotland, and for that has 1000 lib. Sterling.

December 1682, dies at Edinburgh, by execution, three persons who denies the king's authority, adhering to Sanquhar Declaration.

A gentleman of the name of Home of Homstoun, was execute at Edinburgh for bearing arms and being seen with the westland-men rebels at the late insurrection.

January 1683. This last winter was very open and warm ; no

whom he knew would not speake an untruth, affirmed unto him, that very early one morning as he passed by the said Anne West's door, about foure a clock, it being a moon-light night, and perceiving her door to be open so early in the morning, looked into the house, and presently there came three or four little things in the shape of black rabbits, leaping and skipping about him, who having a good stick in his hand, struck at them, thinking to kill them, but could not ; but at last caught one of them in his hand, and holding it by the body of it, he beat the head of it against his stick, intending to beat out the braines of it ; but when he could not kill it that way, he took the body of it in one hand, and the head of it in another, and endeavoured to wring off the head ; and as he wrung and stretched the neck of it, it came out between his hands like a lock of wooll ; yet he would not give over his intended purpose, but knowing of a spring not farre off, he went to drowne it ; but still as he went he fell downe, and could not goe, but downe he fell again ; so that he at last crept upon his hands and knees till he came at the water, and holding it fast in his hand, he put his hand down into the water up to his elbow, and held it under water a good space, till he conceived it was drowned, and then letting goe his hand, it sprung out of the water up into the aire, and so vanished away : and then comming backe to the said Anne West's door, he saw her standing there in her smock, and asked her why she had set her imps to molest and trouble him ? to whom she made answer, that they were not sent to trouble him, but were sent out as scouts upon another designe."—*A true and exact Relation of the severall Informations, Examinations, and Confessions of the late Witches, arraigned and executed in the County of Essex, who were arraigned and condemned at the late Sessions, holden at Chelmsford, before the Right Honourable Robert Earl of Warwick, and severall of his Majesty's Justices of Peace, 29th July, 1645.*

frost at all, excepting some crainroch, or small frost, in some mornings in Janwary. Some flowers were budding in Janwary, as tansey, nettles, and others. A partridge nest was found then with eggs in it; and artichoes in some gardings growing to the bigness of a hen's-egg; pyats and birds were building their nests, and eggs found in some of them. In this year, 1683, astrologers observe that there is a famous conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Leo. These planets meet twice or thrice in that fiery regal sign, and astrologically boad great alterations in the world. Andrew Argol's words of them are these: "*Cum celebretur conjunctio superiorum Saturni et Jovis in trigono igneo, antiquorum consensu, mutationes magnæ contingent, et generales consternationes; ac de facili dominiorum mutationes.*"

And sayes Lilly, that great astrologer in England, "considering the two great conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter which fall in the sign Leo, the ascendant of Rome, in the years 1682 and 1683, I cannot but think there will be a total dissolution of the Popish power within a small time after; for I am persuaded (says he) that the work is begun already as to the humane part, and according to former observations, much after the nature as it was in one great conjunction in Leo when Rome was taken, and the then-present Pope confyned; but these two conjunctions being in one, and the same sign hapning in the space of one year, which configuration have not hapned for the space of above 2000 years, therfor it must needs shake Room, and change that place in quality; and indeed these conjunctions have relation to all the whole world; for it is (says he) an undoubted truth, that the destruction of one state is the advancing of another; and by how much the conquered loss in power and treasure, by so much may the conqueror behold his own victory. The world was never always in one position, nor hardly ever will. The Reverend Mr Perkins, (says he) one of the fathers of the church, in his reading of the duration of kingdoms and states

in many places, that they do not, for the most part, continue above five or six hundred years at the most, without being sacked by strangers. Then let the reader consider whether a great part of Europe is not near great alterations; England, according to that doctrine, cannot but be very sensible of the sad effects. I shall now conclude, with this astrological prediction, That within these five years, (to witt, from the year 1681, inclusive) all Europe shall go near to be up in arms."

Lilly's Description of the Great Comet, or Blazing Star, and of the prodigious Consequences of it, which was seen in the South-west, on the 11th of December, 1680.

The first appearance of it was in the sign Sagittarius, or the latter end of Scorpio, about the beginning of November; and since it hath past Sagittarius, and is now in the sign Capricorn, about the 23d degree; for it was observed on the 10th of December, by a very worthy person, to be about 5 degrees of Capricorn, and its diurnal motion about 1 degree 30 minutes; and by the addition of its diurnal motion, it reaches to the 23 degree as aforesaid, at the time of writing, being the 24th of December. The star hath about 10 degrees north latitude, and about the bigness of a star of the fourth magnitude, with a stream, or blaze, pointing easterly, of about 60 degrees in length; the star of a pale leaner colour, and also the stream or blaze, by way of judgment, according to art. Here are two things to be considered; first, the place of the comet in the Zodiack; secondly, where the stream points. To the first (says he) I do believe it hath past part of Scorpio and all Sagittarius; therefor, let part of France, and part of Germany and Spain look to it, for they either, offensively or defensively, shall batter themselves, or some other

people; and, in asmuch as its gotten into Capricorn, I pray God (says he) keep the dominions of Great Britain in peace, because under Capricorn is the north part of Scotland, for it is much to be feared that the Scots may once more rebell against England; and I must further take a cognisance of its passing Sagittarius, a sign opposite to London's ascendant, where that great conjunction fell, of Saturn and Jupiter, in the year 1663, from which Mr Richard Edlin predicted that great plague which happened in the year 1665 at London. In short, I fear England, but more especially London, will be incident to an infectious air, from hence proceeds raging pestilential diseases, rumors, and reall wars, and home-bred divisions, poisoning, open and private murders. Let England beware of flatterers, and treat its neighbours in a posture of defence. To conclude this part, let the inhabitants of London prepare for death, for indeed a plague is threatened; and God keap back the fury of bloody-minded men.

There is need to pray that the Lord may pardon our sins and avert his judgements.

November and December 1682, and January, February, &c. 1683, were on the south side of Tay great ffynings of persons who did not keep the church and frequent the public ordinances, both in bourghs and landward; especially in Edinburgh and Glasgow, men and women were fyned in great sums of money, so that amongst some it occasioned great dissentions betwixt husband and wife, the first being clear to go to churche, the other not; and the husband being fyned for the wife, occasioned domestick jarrs.

January 1683, were made prisoners Mr John Spreul, living at Glasgow, and caryed to Edinburgh prisoner, and Sir John Harper of Camnethin, Sir John Dalrymple, also, son of Sir James Dalrymple of Stairs, late President. Fifteen of the gentlemen of Clydsdale were summoned to compear before the Council, amongst whom

were the Lord Carmichael and his uncle Sir Daniel, Coltness, Alan-ton, Munklen, &c. At this time was ane John Maxwell, in Paisley, made prisoner for counterfeiting the king's hand and seal.

One gentleman, Blackwood, was made prisoner, and condemned to die for conversing with some of Bodel men, and setting them lands, and reprimed for several months.

One Montgrennan also made prisoner for being at the late rebellion. The parliament of Scotland adjourned till June 1683.

Lord Loudon goes to Holland; Coltness, Munklen, and Mr Gabriel Cunnigham, minister at Dunlop, and Cessnock, with his son, removes themselves from their dwellings, and drens in other parts.*

* The luckless adherents of the Covenant, during these times of danger and distress, were not only persecuted in their hiding-places by the unceasing vigilance of Tory justices of the peace, bloody-minded curates, and merciless dragoons, but annoyed by the assaults of Satan himself, who clambered up to their concealed abodes among the rocks, disturbing their protracted prayers, and tempting their patience and their faith. He appears, however, generally to have come off with the worst, nor to have twice repeated his visit to the same persons. The Ettrick Shepherd, in a note to his excellent poem of Mess John, has preserved a few lines composed upon one of these rencounters, which he introduces with the following traditional account, of which a part is certainly founded on truth.

“ Among the hills near Moffat, two intercommuned persons took refuge. Their names were Halbert Dobson and David Dun, better known by those of Hab Dob and Davie Din. The remains of their cottage is still visible, and sure never was human habitation contrived on such a spot. It is on the very brink of a precipice, which is 400 feet perpendicular height, while another of half that height overhangs it above. To this they resorted, in times of danger, for a number of years; and the precipice is still called Dob's Linn. Tradition relates farther of these two champions, that, while they resided at the cottage by themselves, the devil appeared to them every night, and plagued them exceedingly, striving often to terrify them, so as to make them throw themselves over the linn. But one day they contrived an hank of red yarn, in the form of crosses, which it was impossible the devil could pass; and on his appearance at night, they got in behind him, and attacked him resolutely with each a Bible in one

Anno 1682, at Air was a cow killed with a calf in the belly, having two heads, four fore legs, and four hind legs, two tails, all joyn together luken wayes in every part by themselves.

hand, and a rowan-tree staff in the other, and, after a desperate encounter, they succeeded in tumbling him over the linn; but, to prevent hurting himself at the moment he was overcome, he turned himself into a batch of skins."—It was not of stolen sheep, we hope, adds our author, alluding to a tradition that the refugees made no scruple of appropriating the cattle of their neighbours to the relief of their own urgent necessities.

" Little kend the wirrikow
What the covenant could dow !
What o' faith, and what o' fen,
What o' might, and what o' men ;
Or he had never shewn his face,
His reekit rags, and riven taes,
To men o' mak, and men o' mense,
Men o' grace, and men o' sense :
For Hab Dob, and Davie Din,
Dang the deil owre Dob's linn.

" Weir, quo' he, an' weir, quo' he ;
Haud the Bible to his ee ;
Ding him owre, or thrush him down,
He's a fause deceitfu' lown !—
Then he owre him, an' he owre him,
He owre him, an' he owre him :
Habby held him griff and grim,
Davie thrush him liff and limb ;
Till, like a bunch o' barkit skins,
Down flew Satan owre the linns."

The Mountain Bard, p. 93.

For an account of a conflict which the Rev. Alexander Peden had with the devil, in a cave in Galloway, see his Memoirs.

Anno 1683, at Glasgow, in the Salt-Market, did a woman bring forth a monstrous child, having two heads, four arms, and four legs.*

* The nationally curious in such monstrous births may consult Hollingshed's Chronicle of Scotland, where a very numerous list will be found. Richard Baxter, in his account of the sect called Vanists, which sprung up in New England while Sir Henry Vane was governor there, asserts, on the authority of the Rev. Mr Thomas Weld, that "one Mrs Dyer, a chief person of the sect, did first bring forth a monster, which had the parts of almost all sorts of living creatures, some parts like man, but most ugly and misplaced, and some like beasts, birds, and fishes, having horns, fins, and claws; and at the birth of it the bed shook, and the women present fell a vomiting and were fain to go forth of the room: Mr Cotton was too favourable to them, till this helpt to recover him: Mrs Hutchinson, the chief woman among them, and their teacher, (to whose exercises a congregation of them used to assemble,) brought forth about 30 mishapen births or lumps at once; and being banished into another plantation, was killed there by the Indians." BAXTER'S *Life*.—See Spalding's History for a description of a monster who was exhibited at Aberdeen in the year 1642. But one of the most extraordinary specimens of this kind to be met with is contained in "A wonderful Relation of a Hellish Monster, brought forth by Mary Boss, the 12 of May, which struck her almost dead after it was newly born. Edinburgh, printed at the foot of the Horse-Wynd, 1709."—Boss, who is said to have been a farmer's daughter, and "of a comely and beautiful carriage, and seemingly modest behaviour," jilted one Savage, to whom she had promised marriage, for a freeholder's son, who propitiated her with a jointure of forty pounds per annum. The forsaken lover "fell into such enraged fits that was most dismal to behold, raving in a distracted manner, exclaiming against her cursed unfaithfulness, and sometimes with such violence that two or three men could scarce hold him in his bed; and usually when his fits were abated he would earnestly wish and pray that God would send some remarkable punishment upon her, as a just example and due reward of her wretched unconstancy, and breach of vows and promises. This he repeated daily for a considerable time, often adding, that he hoped and wished that instead of a child, the first fruit of her womb might be a devil or hellish serpent, to sting her conscience: accordingly, the time of reckoning being come, which was the 12th of May, 1698, her mid-wife had all things in order for the decent reception of her supposed son, (as her husband before hand was pleased to tell it,) but instead of rejoicing in his remarkable birth, (for so I may justly term it,) nothing but

Anno 1683, Lord Neil Campbell, Arkinles, Auchinbreck, and severall others of the name of Campbell, are summoned to compear before the council, with all the vassals of the late Argyle, to hold their lands of the king's majesty.

Aprile 1683, at the Largs, in the west of Scotland, a man at his plough knocks down his servant man, taying the horse, immediately goes home; his wife asking for the servant man, he gives her a rough answer; she goes out to look after him, ere she returned he hanged himself; she coming in with a child in her arm, seing

amazement and wonder possessed in the house, for, to the midwife's extraordinary astonishment, just as she was industriously performing her office, (instead of a child,) a monstrous creature bitt her by the finger, which uncommon and strange accident put her into a deplorable agony, insomuch that for a considerable space she could not recover her sences, her surprize was so great: however, considering the great danger the woman was in, and that her office at such a time required courage, she proceeded with that dexterity and undaunted resolution, that she exposed to all their view the frightfullest monster that ever eye beheld, having a strange mouth which extended almost round the head, at least from one ear to another, the feet resembling a bear, or some such like dreadfull creature, having ghastly eyes in his knees as big as an ox, with the frightfulest resemblance of a long beard; having long claws like a ravenous fowl, and instead of hands, two strange appearances like cloven feet of a beast, to the exceeding wonder and amazement of all her friends and neighbours then present.

"But that which added most of all to their astonishment, it lift up one of its hellish claws, and struck the mother on the left side of the head with such violence that she immediately fell into a swond for a considerable time, to the terror of them all, but at last she was recovered again, tho' with much difficulty; in the mean time the hideous monster being got loose, run round about the room, but not finding a passage to escape, it attempted to crawl up the chimney, which the midwife prevented by seizing of its legs, and after binding of its mouth and legs from doing any mischief, she searched whether it was male, or female, but it proved neither. So after a consultation held with the neighbours then present, the minister of the parish was sent for, who upon sight thereof was amazed, telling them that it was a hellish monster, and consequently not fit to live; whereupon it was agreed that it should be killed and buried, which was accordingly performed with all the haste imaginable," &c.

her husband hanging, fell down on the ground, and the child in her arms with the fall brake its neck ; a sad spectacle.

Aprile 1683, feavers are very dangerous and infectious groun at this time ; strange and uncow diseases happens people. In Monteith severall families taken with an uncow disease, like unto convulsion fits, their face throwing about to their neck, their hands gripping closs together, so as the very nails of their fingers makes holes in their looves ; losses their senses, and has a devouring appetite, does eat much, and not satisfyed.

Aprile 1683, there are proclamations for putting the militia of Scotland in posture, particularly of the associat shires in the west, viz. Clidsdail, Dunbrittan, Baronthrow, Cunninghame, Keil, and Galloway, which before time since the king's return were not allowed to have militia companies.

Aprile 1683, Rowallan, elder and younger, and Bruntfield does retire and darn for a time.

About this time the lands of Argyle is divided to some ; Lord Perth gets Castle Campbell ; Lord Montrose gets Cowell ; Lord Athole gets Tirrie Island ; and M'Lens theirs.

Aprile 1683, does Lanshey retire also with Crawford land.

May 9, 1683, one Elizabeth Mitchell, having an untowardly husband, and ill-natured towards her, who frequently struck her, after several attempts hanged herself in her own house at Glasgow, betwixt 11 and 12 at night.

May 1683, the Clerk of the Justiciary Court came to Glasgow, (having been before at Striviling and Fife,) and summoned in all the perishes about in Clidsdale and Dumbrittan, for information anent these that were at Bothwell in the late rebellion, as also the people of Glasgow, and that upon oath ; went next to Paisley for the Baronthrow, and then to Air, Dumfries, and Edinburgh, for the respective shires.

The king's majesty remitts the forfeiture of the vassalls of the Earle of Argyle, which *de jure* fell upon the said earl's forfeiture.

His son, the Lord Lorn, being to be apprehended, (as was supposed by him,) flyes and escapes. May 1683, it was thought his apprehension was designed for delivering up his father's charter chist of all his lands.

May 18, 1683, does in the morning appear two suns; the paelii, and an rainbow seen by severalls at Glasgow the said morning, towards our zenith.

June 8, 1683, there is an prisoner sent from Edinburgh to Glasgow, as it would seem to be judged by the assize was to sit there the week following, with six of the king's life guard; there lyes in wait for them eight men, armed with sword and gun, of the countrymen (probably stirred up by the friends of the prisoner for his relief,) at Inch-belly-Bridge, understanding the road they were to take, who lyes darned at the back of a house benorth the bridge, and when the troupers come up with the prisoner, they fire at them unawares, and kills one outright; a gentleman of the name of Murray, wounds one Bannantyne to surname; the rest fled, and they rescue the prisoner, and betakes themselves to the hills for their safety. The troop of dragoons that lay at Glasgow, were sent to pursue them that had done this inhumane act, and hereby brought on blood guiltiness upon the land. The prisoner that was rescued was one Smith, brother to him that was execute with Mr Cargill; the gentleman that was killed, cryes *Fy, fy! foul play!* and so died. Earleston, who was at Bothwell, and had his father killed there, going from Newcastle over seas, (June 1683,) his ship that he was in stayed on the sands; and the rest going off, he cryes, *So much for a boat to take him in to some of the ships?* The waiter being there, suspects him to have uncustomed goods, and apprehends him; he desires the liberty to take his box alongst with him, which being

granted, so soon as he takes it up he throws it overboard ; they fished it up again, and finds papers and letters in it, as is reported, letters of credence to forraign protestant princes for their help ; letters of instructions, and particular letters to some abroad that are exiled. The letters of credence is reported to be in Latine : He is made prisoner at Newcastle, and sent down to Edinburgh Tolbooth ; the principal papers are sent up to the king, and the copies of them sent down to the council.*

June 13, 1683, did one William Boak suffer death at Glasgow, for being at Bodell Bridge rebellion, and renouncing the king's authority. If his bidding God save the king would have redeemed his life, he would not say it ; and yet on the ladder, in his last words, he blessed God he was honoured to be a martyr for Christ and his truthes. *Non est mors, sed causa mortis, quæ fecit martyrem.*

A few weeks before this, to the number of 30 men meet betwixt the Kirk of the Shotts and Cambusnethen, who had beforehand forsaken the ordinances of God, and there did debate the authority of the Scriptures, and thereafter played at the foot ball with them, and after that burned them ; this was verified by two ministers, Mr William Violet and Mr John Oliphant, who had certain information of it. What will they not do that receives not the truth in love, and whom God gives up to strong delusion to believe lies that they may be damned ?

June 12, 1683, did the Justiciary Court sit down at Glasgow,

* The Letter of Credence, or Commission, to be found in the Appendix to the Bishop of Rochester's Account of the Horrid Conspiracy, p. 91, is curious, from the wretched Latin in which it is couched : Mr James Renwick subscribes it, as clerk to the meeting.

(after that they had sit at Streviling,) at which time they imposed the Test on heretors, and it was reported that 50 of Fyfe gentlemen tooke it; these that did not compear, were denounced and put to the horn, and declared fugitives; these that did compear, and took not the Test, gave bond to compear before the Council or Justiciary Court, when called for.

At Glasgow they do the like, they take bond of gentlemen to compear when called for; they impose also the Test on some, and to the number of 27 gentlemen take it, and 26 commons, and in the dayes following a great many.

There were five forfeited, viz. James Hamiltoun of Parkhead, Mr Thomas Hamiltoun of Reeth, Gavin Paterson of Bodel Shields, John Russell in the Eastfield, and Robert Russell of Windie Edge, on the 14th of that instant, and their armes torn and tread on.

The Justiciary Court, whereof my Lord Earle of Perth, the Justice General, and Sir George M'Kenzie, the king's advocat, and three Lords of the Session, with Lord Maitland, Justice-clerk, were present, pass an interloquitor, that non that were present in the moor where these Bodell men were gathered together, or came to see them, though without arms, but they should be held als guilty as these that were engadged in the fight. Also, they made an act that non should speak against the Test, or these that took it, and if any did contraveen, they should be carryed to the counsell for examination and triall.

June 14th, 1683, were executed at Glasgow (being condemned by the Justiciary and Assizers) two men of Lesmahagow, for their accession to the late murder of that gentleman David Monroe, in rescueing of that Smith before mentioned at Inchbelly-bridge; they fled barefoot to a wood, where they were found by the country men hiding themselves, and delivered them to the souldiers, who brought

them into the city. When they were examined, they would neither confess nor deny the fact, nor their presence at the said place, but bid the judges prove it; this was taken *pro confesso*, besides other presumptions. Their right hands were cut off, then hanged, and their heads struck off to be fixed, and their bodys appointed to be hung up in iron chains at Inchbelly-bridge, the place where the murder was committed. Neither did they at their death either confess or deny the fact at the place of execution; they refused to hear the conformist ministers pray for them, though they offered to do it; neither, though they were desired to pray for themselves, would do it, alledging they would not pray before such company; but went to death without confessing sin to God, or praying to him for mercy, (an unusuall practice), very sturdily. The sirname of one of them was Smith, probably a friend to that Smith they rescued.

June 15th, there was two of the name of Maxwell, portioners of Boughton, forfeit.

Many gentlemen and commons take the Test; these gentlemen that refused were made to give bond, under considerable sums of money proportionable for their estates, to compear before the Justiciary Court at Edinburgh, on the 24th of July next ensuing, and so were dismissed for the time.

June 4th, 1683, an act of council is made, that no nobleman, under the pains of 3000 merks, nor no gentleman, under 1200 merks, shall keep any chaplain in his family, or pedagogue to his children; and that no schoolmaster shall teach any school, unless he take the Test before his ordinar; and because many, under the notion of servants, attendants, and factors, do these offices, all noblemen, gentlemen, and others, are discharged from keeping such under the for-said penalties, untill such time they take the Test.

These gentlemen and commons that did not compear at the Jus-

ticiary Court held at Glasgow, June 12th, &c. were denounced to the horn, and declared fugitives; so that their liferent of escheet fell, and they were of a considerable number.

June 16th, 1683, were made prisoners at Glasgow, of countrymen and town's men, to the number of 50, because they would not take the Test; but afterward got free, either with taking the Test, or giving bond for compearance.

It is remarkable, that one of these dead bodies of these two that were carried to be hung up in irons at Inchbelly-bridge, though their intralls were taken out, and their bodies cleansed from all blood, yet when it came to the place where the murther was committed, did gush out in blood in the arm which was cut, testified to be a truth by the beholders, which was a testimony of their guilt.*

* This proof of guilt was actually produced in a court of law on the trial of Philip Stanfield, supposed to have murdered his father, Sir James Stanfield of Newmills, December 1687. Sir James's head bled when Philip touched it; but the young man alledged that the corpse had been previously shaken. See State Trials, and Lord Fountainhall's Decisions, Vol. I. p. 484. Of Stanfield, Wodrow says,—“This profligate youth being at the University of St Andrews, a good many years before he committed this barbarous murder, came to a sermon in Kinkel-closs, about a mile from St Andrews, where Mr John Welch was preaching, and in his spite and mockery in time of sermon, threw somewhat or other at the minister, which hit him. The minister stopped, and said, ‘He did not know who had put that public affront on a servant of Christ; but be who he would, he was persuaded there would be more present at his death than were hearing him preach that day, and the multitude was not small. This was accomplished, and Mr Stanfield acknowledged this in prison after he was condemned, and that God was about to accomplish what he had been warned off.’” After all, the young man's guilt is extremely dubious; for Sir James had once or twice attempted his own life, and had complained of the lightness of his head the very week before his death. On the other hand, some presumptions against Philip were strong, such as threats, and, by his father's own account, a previous assault with intent to murder. Lady Stanfield, also, against whose chastity Lord Fountainhall, in his MS., has preserved a shocking imputation, had prepared her husband's *dead-clothes*; but the

June 1683, a man that was accessory to the death of the Archbishop of St Andrews, a weaver to his calling, came to Newbottle

young man denied all to the very last, imprecating "a judgement against himself if he was in the least guiltie thereof; and some thought if not miraculous, yet ane extraordinarie return of his imprecations, that accident of the slipping of the knots of the rope wherewith he was hanged, whereby his feet and knees were on the scaffold, (this I saw with my own eyes) which necessitate the hangman to strangle him, bearing therein a near resemblance with his father's death; and applicatione being made that they might be allowed to bury him, Duke Hamilton was for it, but the Chancellor was against it, so his body was hung up in chains at the Gallowlie, but a few days after was taken down, and found lying in a ditch among some water, as his father's corpse was, and by order hung up againe; and thereafter, a second time, the same was taken down, and no more heard thereof."—FOUNTAINHALL'S *Diary*. Another very singular incident respecting the bleeding of a murdered body is to be found in Wodrow's Account of Mitchell's Examination, extracted, as is probable, from the narrative written by that assassin himself. "In the year 1611, the Laird of Auchindrane was put to the torture, being accused of an horrid and private murder, where there were no witnesses, and which the Lord had witnessed from heaven singularly by his own hand, and proved the deed against him. The corps of the man being buried in Girvan Church-yard as a man cast away at sea, and cast out there, the Laird of Colzean, whose servant he had been, dreaming of him in his sleep, and that he had a particular mark upon his body, came and took up the body, and found it to be the same person, and caused all that lived near by come and touch the corps, as is usual in such cases. All round the place came but Auchindrane and his son, whom nobody suspected, till a young child of his, Mary Muir, seeing the people gathered, came in among them, and when she came near the dead body, it sprang out in bleeding, upon which they were apprehended and put to the torture." Lord Fountainhall, in his MS. abstract from the Criminal Record, says,—"The story of the fact is remarkable. Auchindrane having conceived a deadly feid against the tutor of Cassillis, comes one day to Maybole with intention to kill him, assaulted him under night, thought to have killed him, had he not been rescued by some of his neighbours, for which fact Auchindrane and his complices past to the horne; (the horning was produced by the advocat). At lenth this enmity was taken away, not only by publick and sworn reconciliation, but also by marriage of the said Auchindrane's eldest sone on the tutor's daughter; after which the tutor lived with Auchindrane in all friendship, trust, and assurance ima-

parish out of Fyfe, and receeded there, and afterward, through God's providence, was detected and apprehended. He confessed

ginable; and going in to Edinburgh, and willing to do Auchindrane's busines there, as weill as his oune, he caused his man leive at the schoolmaster of Air his house, a letter for Auchindrane, signifying that he was going for Edinburgh to-morrow, and would gladly meet with him at the west end of Air, at the Duppillis, or he went. This advertisement was sent with a schoolboy called William Dalrimple, who delivered it to old Auchindrane sitting with Walter Muir of Cloncaird, who immediately, upon his reading of it, sent back the boy, and entreated him to say, that he had neither got him, nor delivered him the letter; then resolved, with the said Walter, to advertise Thomas Kennedy of Drummurchy of the certainty of Culzain's journey, and the way he intended to ride, advising him to use that occasione to revenge himselfe on him. The advertisement, with this advice, sends with on Macadam, as is clearly proven by the deposition of witnesses. Drummurchy, by the advertisement, counsell, and instigation forsaid, waites the gentleman in the place he had trysted Auchindrane, and most treasonably murthours him, wheirfor Drummurchy stands forfaulted by act of parliament; he having turned fugitive, was much assisted and supported by Auchindrane, who fearing that discovery of his accession to the said treasonable murther might be made by the said W. Dalruple, to eschew it, caused him first to be secretly conveyed to his house, wher he keiped him long quiet, at last sent him to Arran, to the Laird of Skermorly; after some tyme, returning from thence, he sent him away with one that was going to the wars in Flanders, hoping he sould never see him againe; wheir, having stayed some tyme, the boy longed to returne; being returned, and Auchindrane getting notice theirop, he was troubled, immediately fetched him to his house, and put him with ane James Bannatyne, in Chappeldonald, his tennent, whom he caused fetch him with him to the sands of Girvan, at 10 a'clock of even, wher they murdered him, and throw him in the sea so far as they could waid. This treasonable murder, with all its circumstances, is most clearly made out by the depositions of witnesses, who also deponed of a speciall friendship after that pretended to the said James Bannatyne, so that they gave him a life-rent take of Chapeldonald; then they persuaded him to go out of the way to Ireland, giving him a letter of recommendation to Drummurchy, and after he was there, he lacked for nothing; frequent correspondence betwixt him and Auchindrane and his wyfe; then caused James Cunningham, his servand ther, who knew of their concealing of W. Dalruple, absent himself for eschewing of tryall; also the Lady Auchindrane, for the same reason, absent-

the fact, but justified it, and was executed for it at Edinburgh, July 13th, 1683.

June 15th, 1683, William Dennin of Westshields was forfeited at Glasgow, and his arms torn.

June 1683, the Justiciary Court having removed to Stirling, and sit down on the day appointed, many of the gentry and commons of these shires take the Test; others find bond to compear on the 21st of August next at Edinburgh before the Justiciary Court. These that had absented themselves, such as the Earle of Loudoun, Cesnock, Lanshey, Craufurdland, Rowallan, Bruntfield, &c. were ordered to be cited at the shoar and peir of Leith, to compear within forty dayes.

The gentlemen of Carriect, all of them excepting three, viz. Trochrig, Knockdellie, and another, take the Test. In Dumfreice, Jedburgh, and Edinburgh, they do the like; many take the Test,

ed hirselse; proven by witnesses that auld Auchindrane would have hyred James Pennycuick to go to Ireland, and their to murther Bannatyne. Then he wrote to Stairs, that because he was bruited for the slaughter of W. Dalruple, he was willing to transact with them theirfor. All which are so clear evidences, and manifest probations, as could hardly be expected in so covered and crafty murthers."

The origin of all these atrocities was a conflict in which the Laird of Bargeny was slain, principally owing, as was erroneously alledged, to Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, second son of Gilbert, third Earl of Cassillis. On Auchindrane's trial, it is objected against one of the witnesses, "That he was in company with the Earl of Cassillis when Bargeny was slain, and Auchindrane sore hurt." Bargeny, being a friend or relative to Drummurchy, the latter gladly availed himself of Auchindrane's intelligence as to Sir Thomas Kennedy's journey, and, with the assistance of his friends, waylaid and murdered him. The Muirs, elder and younger, were tried for Sir Thomas's murder, of which the father was found guilty, and both were convicted of the murder of William Dalrymple, and sentenced to be beheaded, and their estates, both real and personal, to be forfeited to the crown.

and others find bond to appear. Several of the Loudian shires absent themselves, and are denounced.

In the western and southern shires, anno 1683, there were a great many gentlemen and others put up in the Porteous Roll, some reckon them about 20,000 men, amongst whom were five indulged ministers, Mr Anthony Shaw, Mr James Vetch, Mr Robert Miller, Mr John Campbell, and Mr Robert Boyd, which found bond under 300 merks to compear before the Justiciary Court on the 2d day of August in that year at Edinburgh.

June 1683, the close of that moneth, were apprehended at London Sesnock, younger and elder, Bailay of Jerriswood; and July, Rowalland, elder and younger, were taken there, and Burntfield and another, upon suspicion of having hand in the lait plot of levy-ing men in the two kingdoms, and making insurrection against the king. There being a plot of this kind designed by some in the two kingdomes, as appears from the confession of Earlstoun and his misterious letters, subscribed by some in Scotland, with two single letters of the alphabet for each name, and as it would appear, by these who had been at the late rebellions of Pentland and Bothwell Bridge.

The letters that were found with Earlstoun were under the notion of merchandizing, and trocking in merchant wares, buying and selling, as that expression therein found, [our Scots merchants are fireside merchants], meaning they were fireside soldiers, but they hoped better things of them; and under the notion of making up matches in marriages, as that expression, [they hoped the marriage should soon be consummat], meaning that they should shortly be joined together in a body; these, to wit, of Scotland and England that had thus designed and plotted their insurrection.

July 1683, Sir William Scot was made prisoner for deriding the late plot.

Rowalland's second son was taken prisoner, and carryed to Edinburgh, July 1683. So was the Laird of Monkland made prisoner at Edinburgh the same time.

July 19th, 1683, died Mr John Streveling, minister at Kilbarchan, of a cholick, which occasioned both vomiting and purging in a vehement manner, which continued twelve hours, and so expired. He was much subject to cholicks two years before that time.

July 22d, 1683, died at Paisley Mr John Wallace, preacher, of a stoping of both his reins for the space of 14 dayes; he voided no water, nor had any in his bladder, after triall was made by a catheter. And John Colquhoun of Kilmerdinnie, younger, some years before this, died of the same disease, and voided no water for the space of 14 dayes, neither had he any in his bladder.

The corps of the weaver, who was accessory to the murder of the late archbishop of St Andrews, was carried over to Fyfe, and fixed on a gallows in the place where the murther was committed.

July 1683, these gentlemen, and others of the western and southern shires, that had given bond at the Justice aires to compear at Edinburgh before them at the dayes appointed, did keep, and the Test being put to them, these gentlemen of Fyfe took it, a few excepted, who absented themselves, and were denounced and made fugitives. These of Clydsdail and Baronthrow appeared also; having the Test put to them, refused it, and so were made prisoners at Edinburgh; amongst whom was Sir John Shaw of Greenhock, old Douchall, Craigens, Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, Houshill, Aickenhead, Mr John Ballantyne, James Young, factor to Duke Hamilton, with severall others; also some of Loudians, as Duntertise and others, with some burgesses of Edinburgh and Glasgow; some that were found innocent were dismissed; others wer confyned, (after a time's imprisonment within the town of Edinburgh, and two miles about it for a certain time); the rest were kept in prison for a time;

severalls of Loudian shires absented themselves; the Laird of Munkland was found guilty upon triall, and was forfeit as to life and fortune. He was reprived afterward as to his life.

The parliament of Scotland, by the king's proclamation, is summoned to sit at Edinburgh the 6th day of December, 1683.

July 1683, the gentlemen of the southern and western shires that were prisoners at Edinburgh were dismissed, on giving their bond for compearance on the 1st day of November next, 1683, and so were the burgesses.

September 1683, on a Sabbath morning, escapes 21 prisoners out of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh at a window, having cut the stenchers of it with aquafortis, and shorn it with steel sawes, the centry being gone. Six or seven of them were condemned to die on the Wednesday ensueing, whereof John Dick, and one Akin, who attended Earlstoun, were of the number. The town was searched all that day, and the ports closed, and yet non of them was found.

The parliament of Scotland is adjourned from 6th of December, 1683, to 8th of Aprile, 1684.

November 1683, in the beginning of that moneth were sent down from London by sea, in one of the king's yauchts, to Edinburgh, eleven Scots gentlemen apprehended there on allegiance of their having accession to the late plot against the king's person and the person of the Duke of York, his brother, and committed to prison in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, for tryall, viz. these lairds and gentlemen, Cessnock, elder and younger, Rowalland, elder and younger, Burntsfield, Jerriswood, Craufurdland, Commissarie Monroe, Mr William Carstairs, son of Mr John Carstairs, late minister at Glasgow, and Mr Murray, and Mr Spense.

The gentlemen of the western and southern shires, with the burgesses that gave their bond to compear before the king's council, or Justice Aire, at Edinburgh, on the 6th of November, 1683, were

dismissed upon new bonds to compear again the 13th of January, 1684. These that were confyned of them before at Edinburgh, such as the Laird of Pollock, Laird of Greenock, Househill, and others, are yet made to keep their confynement untill that time.

November 1683, Earlstoun distracts in the tolbooth, which saved him from being put in the boots.*

November 1683, Duke of Monmouth comes home to the king, his father, and is kindly welcomed of him, some say at the mediation of the Duke of York, and carried the sword of honour before the king on a certain day.

November 1683, are three men executed at Edinburgh, who denied the king's authority over them; some of them were Monkland men. They had offer made to them of their life if they would acknowledge the king, but they would not.

Some of these men of the wild principles go in to the house of Barscobe, a gentleman in Galloway, who had been of a long time a prisoner for joining with the men at Pentland-hills, and gote free upon his taking of the bond of peace, (which thing incensed them) and strangles him in his own house.

Some of these men also being in a house together in the west, in comes a young man with a purpose to fright them, and shoots a pistoll; they presently raise up and wounded him mortally, that he

* He had the dexterity to feign madness so well, that he deceived even those who were by no means easily imposed upon. Fountainhall, in his MS. Diary, notes—"23d Nov. 1683, Gordon of Earlseton being brought to the torture, and feigning himself mad, was sent to the Castle. He laid about him like a madman, so that the hangman durst not approach; and he said Generalls Dalyell and Drummond, and Duke Hamilton, were to head the whiggs. December 1683, Gordon of Earlseton reprimed to last Fryday of January 1684. Some were for his execution, others not, alleadging thereby soul and body might be killed, (he being alleadged mad) but the advocat, Mackenzie, was for execution."

dies. They cause bury him in the church-yard, which new grave the beddell observing, discovers it; search was made who was laid there, (suspecting it had been some trooper killed) and the grave is open, and the young man is known by his face. God, in his righteous judgement, has sent his evill angels amongst people in thir times, to make them sheath their swords in other sides, because they are turned away from his commandments.

December 4, 1683, search was made through Glasgow for such persons, and eight were found that were strangers, with weapons about them. They were apprehended and made prisoners.

November 1683, in this month was a great storm at sea, so that there were many ships cast away on the coasts of Holland, and dead bodies cast out on the shoar to the number of 1500. Great frosts in the moneth of December.

The chancellor of Scotland has, by the king's appointment, seven of the officers of state adjoyned to him as assessors.

December 1683, about the close of that moneth, the earle himself being from home, the Lairds of Hilton and Nynhools came to make a visit to the Earle of Home his house, and went to dice and cards with Mr William Home, the earl's brother. Some sharp words fell amongst them at their game, which were not noticed, as it seemed to them; yet when the two gentlemen were gone to their chambers, the foresaid Mr William comes up with his sword and stabs Hiltoun with nine deadly wounds in his bed, that he dies immediately; and wounds Nynhools mortally, so that it was thought he could not live, and immediately took horse and fled into England; a treacherous and villanous act done to two innocent gentlemen, the fruits of dicing and card-gaming.*

* " Joseph Jonston of Hilton was stabbed by Mr William, brother to Charles, Earl of Home. Hilton, being of a lofty temper, had given Mr Home bad words in his own

January 1684, Mr Antony Shaw, Mr James Veetch, and Mr John Campbell, with an other, all indulged ministers, were, by the council, put from their charges, and discharged to preach any more in them, which sentence they obeyed. Mr Antony Shaw, and Mr John Campbell, find caution not to exerce their ministerial function in preaching and dispensing of the sacraments to any. Mr James Veitch resolved rather to be banished, and so he was.

Mr William Ecclese, minister at Paisley, being conveyened before the council, was put from the exercise of his ministry, and finds caution as to the other two.

February 22, 1684, were execute at Edinburgh three men who would not acknowledge the king's authority.

This last winter, from November 1683, to March 1, 1684, was exceeding cold and frostie ; a great storm of frost and snow.

February 11, 1684, dies Mr William Adair, the old minister at Air, who was laid aside a litle time before, for not taking the Test, and Mr John Stirling, indulged to Irwine, both worthy men in the ministry.

March 5, 1684, ane Mr John Dick, who had been a favourer of Mr Welsh, and at length deserted him, being apprehended formerly for Bodell rebellion, and condemned to die, escaped out of the tolbooth, with some others, at Edinburgh, and now being apprehended

house of Hilton, and a box on the ear. Mr W. Home made his escape to England, and was after killed himself in the wars abroad."—LORD FOUNTAINHALL'S *Diary*. Before his death, he is said to have returned to Scotland, smitten with remorse, and anxious to obtain pardon from a near male relation of Johnston's, then residing in Edinburgh. This gentleman, in the dusk of the evening, was called forth to the outside stairs of the house to speak with a stranger muffled up in a cloak. As he proceeded along the passage, the door being open, he recognised the murderer ; and immediately drawing his sword, rushed towards him, on which the other nimbly leapt down from the stairs into the street, and was never again seen in Scotland.

there of new, is the foresaid day executed in the Grassmarket by hanging, without any new process.

March 1684, in the beginning of that moneth was Mr John Rae, minister, apprehended at Edinburgh, who was at Bodell rebellion, and excepted out of the Act of Indemnity.

March 19, 1684, suffered death at Glasgow these five persons, surnamed Richmond, Stewart, Johnston, Main, and Winning, for their accession to Bodell rebellion, and denying the king's authority.

March 1684, the town of Kelso was burnt in two parts of it by an accidental fire.

March 1684, were some graves opened in some parts of Clydsdale, but by whom was not known, seen and testified by eye-witnesses. An old minister, Mr Bennet, in his manuscripts, records, that before our late troubles there were a number of graves cast open in a moor in the south.

Aprile 25, died James Marquise of Montrose, of a high feaver, of his 26 years of age, of a noble behaviour, and hopeful expectation, and left behind him one son.*

* The death of this young nobleman was bewailed in several uncouth copies of verses, still extant in MS., of which the following may serve as a specimen:—"Ane Acrostick on the deplorable and untimely death of James, Marquess of Montrose, who was married on Ladie Christian Lesslie, daughter to Jon, Duke of Rothies.

Lo, here's intomb'd (who can the same espy,

Oh, rigid fate! without a weeping eye?)

Rare vertue's foster child, whose touring spirit

Did of all worth the quintessence inherit.

In whose brave bosom was at once inshrin'd

All peerless beauties of a princely mind;

March 1684, died Sir Archibald Stirling of Keir, of his age 47, a discreet, honest, and ingenuous gentleman.

Most grave, most prudent, most discreet and sage,
Equall to heroes of ane hoary age,
Sharp, of deep judgment, and high soaring parts,

Great standart bearer of sublimest arts ;
Rich in all what makes any to excell ;
Ane Atlas of his countrie's common well ;
Head of the Grahams, his noble kindred's hope ;
Moan, oh him moan !—Grief makes me here to stope !"

Among Mr Robert Wyllie's epistolary correspondence in the Wodrow MS. is a curious account of the Marchioness of Montrose's second nuptials.—*Vide* Kirkton's History, p. 224. *Note*. In the same collection, there is also a very remarkable letter respecting the death of a young gentleman, preceded by an apparition, which the Editor subjoins. It is sealed with black wax, and addressed to Mr Wyllie, but with no signature ; yet from the orthography, it appears to have been written by Mr Robert Knox, who afterwards retired to France.

" MY DEAREST FRIEND,

April 9, 1679.

" I received your's of March 26th in dew time ; but the last weike I had so many dispatches to make for others, that I had not that tyme to write a line for myself ; that which I promised to communicate to you, albeit it be such a trifle as I wold be loath to hazard myself upon the charity of any other by doing it, and that I am dissatisfyed with myself for raising your expectation by speaking theirow, before I declared the whole to you, yet I am as good as my word, by giving you this accompt which followes :—

" That excellent youth was taken from me upon Munday the 17th of December last by four in the morning ; and it was the Fryday preceeding by eight at night ere ever I apprehended him in any danger, fancying it was only a cold he had catched by hunting upon the Saturday before, being a rainny day, and he very warme with his sport ; but then the doctor assured me by his best observations, he perceived his braine be-

March and Aprile 1684, amongst some prisoners at Glasgow was brought in a woman *malæ famæ*. While she is there, the devil ap-

ginning to be affected with the feaver; and upon Saturday by eight in the morning, he began to rage in a fearfull manner, and so continued all that day; and though he knew all persons, even the physicians that attended him, yet by no meanes could he be induced to receive any sort of medicament, no, not cordials; so that by nine at night the doctors began to looke discouragedly; upon which I leaped out of the bed from him, and enquired at them what they judged of his condition; and they were so free as to declare, if he could not be engaged some way to comply with the physicians, they conceived him beyond recovery, and for that I saw their was no hopes. Upon which I desired (seeing him looke as if the pangs of death had been coming on him) to hold up his condition to God, which when I had done with those who were present, I began to faint by reasone of extraordinaire watching, fasting, and concernment, and so was necessitate to leave the roome, and go to my chamber, where I found a candle lighted, and a servant making the bed; where after I had recovered from that fainting-fitt, I reposed myself in a chaire, and over against me, in a corner of the chamber whereto the light of the candle did not reach, I observed something in humane shape gathering up itself in a narrow roome, as if it would have concealed itself from me; which when I begane perfectly to imagine that it might be some of the servant-women that desired not to be discovered by me, and had my head full of nothing but wonder what might make her be at all that paines to doe so; I cleerly perceived the fantosme stretch foorth its arme so farr towards me, as the light of the candle made me distinctly discerne a bigg unshapely sand-glass in its hand, which I gazed a tyme upon, misdoubting my owne eyes, untill my haire began to rise, and a horreur ceased all my flesh; and than I called aloud to the woman who was making the bed, and noticing nothing, to turne the light towards that pairt of the chamber where the phantosme had appeared, but she observed nothing, and all disappeared to me also. After this I related all to the doctors, and withall argued with them that all might have been the effect of my distemper, and gladly wold have flattered myself that it was so; but never could I ruminate affresh upon the apparition, nor seriously desyre of heaven the continuing of the dear youth with me, but the same horreur returned which I had at the appearing; and the doctors (though men, I know, little given to believe stories of apparitions), after I had given them a full accompt upon the very place, confessed, after the young gentleman was removed, that my relation dispatched any thing of hope

pears in the rooms casting coals at the prisoners and soldiers, jingling the irons and frightening all; when she is removed, he appears no more, which would seem to say, that the devil his appearing in houses and troubling them is not without the hand of some of his warlocks or witches, as instances may be given of it.

Aprile 1684, Captain Paton, Robert Goodwin, maltman in Glas-

for his recovery that remained with them, and that only in tenderness to me they seemed to give ear to my arguings. In haist. Adieu.

For Mr Robert Wyllie at Glasgo. Answer this so soon as
it comes to your hand.

The Rev. Mr Robert Blair, in his Memoirs, mentions an apparition which he saw when a youth at Glasgow, having the likeness of one of his acquaintances; but does not say whether it portended the young boy's death, or merely appeared to affright himself. The passage is this:—

“ I resolved to watch at my studies every other night, and to carry this quietly without being perceived, I could find no other room for the purpose but a chamber wherein none were permitted to stay by reason of apparitions in the night-season; yea, I had seen therein myself a spirit in likeness of one of my condisciples, whom I, having a light candle in my hand, and supposing verily it had been that boy, chased to a corner of that chamber, where he seemed to hide himself; but when I offered to pull him out, I could find nothing. Yet in that chamber I resolved to spend my watching nights, and did so the whole summer, and was never troubled nor terrified a whit. And though I was carryed on herein only by an ardent desire of prosecuting my studies diligently, yet thou, O Lord, had ane other design, even to fix my faith on thee; for thus thou taught me that devills were chained with chains of darkness, reserved to the judgment of the last day, so that they could not, nor durst not once appear, far less molest, without thy permission; and that if thou did permit any such thing, thou would make it work for good to one devoted to thee, whom thou had taken in protection. But withall thou taught me then, how necessary it was to pray seriously and fervently, and to live always as under thy on looking eye. And so during that time, I studied the one night without any fear, or the least distraction, and the other night I slept very sweetly. Glory to my blessed Protector for ever!”

gow, and James M'Lintock, were taken and brought in prisoners to Glasgow; the last two were taken casually. It is strange how Providence has suffered many of these Bodell men to be taken even when not sought for.

END OF LAW'S MEMORIALLS.

and James M. Lincoln, were taken and brought in prisoners to Chicago; the last two were taken monthly. It is strange how Providence has suffered many of these foolish men to be taken even when not sought for.

APPENDIX

The following is a list of the names of the persons who were taken and brought in prisoners to Chicago, the last two were taken monthly. It is strange how Providence has suffered many of these foolish men to be taken even when not sought for.

1. James M. Lincoln
2. James M. Lincoln
3. James M. Lincoln
4. James M. Lincoln
5. James M. Lincoln
6. James M. Lincoln
7. James M. Lincoln
8. James M. Lincoln
9. James M. Lincoln
10. James M. Lincoln
11. James M. Lincoln
12. James M. Lincoln
13. James M. Lincoln
14. James M. Lincoln
15. James M. Lincoln
16. James M. Lincoln
17. James M. Lincoln
18. James M. Lincoln
19. James M. Lincoln
20. James M. Lincoln
21. James M. Lincoln
22. James M. Lincoln
23. James M. Lincoln
24. James M. Lincoln
25. James M. Lincoln
26. James M. Lincoln
27. James M. Lincoln
28. James M. Lincoln
29. James M. Lincoln
30. James M. Lincoln
31. James M. Lincoln
32. James M. Lincoln
33. James M. Lincoln
34. James M. Lincoln
35. James M. Lincoln
36. James M. Lincoln
37. James M. Lincoln
38. James M. Lincoln
39. James M. Lincoln
40. James M. Lincoln
41. James M. Lincoln
42. James M. Lincoln
43. James M. Lincoln
44. James M. Lincoln
45. James M. Lincoln
46. James M. Lincoln
47. James M. Lincoln
48. James M. Lincoln
49. James M. Lincoln
50. James M. Lincoln
51. James M. Lincoln
52. James M. Lincoln
53. James M. Lincoln
54. James M. Lincoln
55. James M. Lincoln
56. James M. Lincoln
57. James M. Lincoln
58. James M. Lincoln
59. James M. Lincoln
60. James M. Lincoln
61. James M. Lincoln
62. James M. Lincoln
63. James M. Lincoln
64. James M. Lincoln
65. James M. Lincoln
66. James M. Lincoln
67. James M. Lincoln
68. James M. Lincoln
69. James M. Lincoln
70. James M. Lincoln
71. James M. Lincoln
72. James M. Lincoln
73. James M. Lincoln
74. James M. Lincoln
75. James M. Lincoln
76. James M. Lincoln
77. James M. Lincoln
78. James M. Lincoln
79. James M. Lincoln
80. James M. Lincoln
81. James M. Lincoln
82. James M. Lincoln
83. James M. Lincoln
84. James M. Lincoln
85. James M. Lincoln
86. James M. Lincoln
87. James M. Lincoln
88. James M. Lincoln
89. James M. Lincoln
90. James M. Lincoln
91. James M. Lincoln
92. James M. Lincoln
93. James M. Lincoln
94. James M. Lincoln
95. James M. Lincoln
96. James M. Lincoln
97. James M. Lincoln
98. James M. Lincoln
99. James M. Lincoln
100. James M. Lincoln

APPENDIX.

THE following very singular and laughable Relation is reprinted, as a proper Appendix to LAW's Memorials, from the original quarto pamphlet, now become scarce, though, in the first year of its appearance, it went through two editions in Scotland, and also came out in London, with many alterations as to style, printed for Andrew Bell, at the sign of the Cross Keys in the Poultry.—Of the Author, Mr Telfair, the Editor has only discovered that, in the year 1687, he was chaplain to Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburne, Bart., whose Diary contains this notice respecting him :—" *Item*, William Forest and George Jonstone entered to my service at Whitsunday last, 1687; the one to carry the boys, and be butler; the other, George Jonstone, to serve my sone; and they have offered themselves to my good will for half a year's tryall of their service.—*Item*, Mr Alexander Tailfer entered at the said term to serve as chaipline, and he is to have yearlie an hundreth merks."—As Sir Thomas was of the episcopal persuasion, it is to be supposed that Mr Alexander then professed the same creed; but he found it convenient, like several of his brethren, to change his mind on the fiery ordeal of the Revolution.

A True Relation of an Apparition, Expressions, and Actings, of a Spirit, which infested the House of Andrew Mackie, in Ring-Croft of Stocking, in the Paroch of Rerrick, in the Stewarty of Kirkcudbright, in Scotland, 1695. By Mr Alexander Telfair, Minister of that Paroch; and attested by many other Persons, who were also Eye and Ear Witnesses.

Eph. vi. 11. Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the Devil.—Vers. 12. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, and powers, &c.—James iv. 7. Resist the Devil, and he will flee from you.

Edinburgh: Printed by George Mosman, and are to be sold at his Shop in the Parliament Closs. 1696.

At Edinburgh, the 7th of January, 1696.

THE Lords of his Majesty Privy-Council do hereby allow George Mosman, stationer in Edinburgh, to print, vend, and sell a book, entituled A True Relation of an Apparition, Expressions, and Actings of a Spirit, which infested the house of Andrew Mackie, in Ring-Croft of Stocking, in the Paroch of Rerrick, in the Stewarty of Kirkcudbright; and discharges any other persons whatsoever to imprint, vend, or sell the said book, for the space of one year after the date hereof, except the said George Mosman and his asseigneys, under the penaltie of having the said books confiscate to the use of the said George Mosman, and of paying to him the sum of Fourty Pounds Scots for each transgression, besides the forsaid confiscation *toties quoties*. Extracted by me,

GIL. ELIOT, *Cls. Sci. Cons.*

TO THE READER.

I ASSURE you it is contrare to my genius, (all circumstances being considered), to appear in print to the view of the world, yet these motives have prevailed with me to publish the following Relation, (beside the satisfying of some reverend brethren in the ministry, and several worthy Christians):—As, 1. The conviction and confutation of that prevailing spirit of atheism and infidelity in our time, denying, both in opinion and practice, the existence of spirits, either of God or Devils; and consequently a Heaven and Hell; and imputing the voices, apparitions, and actings of good or evil spirits to the melancholick disturbance or distemper of the brains and fancies of those who pretend to hear, see, or feel them. 2. To give occasion to all who read this, to bless the Lord, who hath sent a stronger (even Christ Jesus) than the strong man, to bind him, and spoil him of his goods, and to destroy the works of the Devil; and even by these things whereby Satan thinks to propagate his kingdom of darkness, to discover, weaken, and bring it down. 3. To induce all persons, particularly masters of families, to private and family prayer, lest the neglect of it provoke the Lord, not only to pour out his wrath upon them otherwise, but to let Satan loose to haunt their persons and families with audible voices, apparitions, and hurt to their persons and goods. 4. That ministers and congregations, where the gospel is in any measure in purity and power, may be upon their guard to wrestle, according to the word of God, against these principalities and powers, and spiritual wickednesses, who still seek to marr the success and fruit of the gospel, sometimes by force, and sometimes by fraud, sometimes secretly, and sometimes openly, (*tunc tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet*); and for these ends learn to know his wiles, and put on the whole armour of God, that they may be able to debate with him. And, 5. That all who are by the goodness of God free from these audible voices, apparitions, or hurts from Satan, may learn to ascribe praise and glory to God, who leads them not into temptation, but de-

livers them from evil ; and that this true and attested account of Satan's methods in this place may carry the forsaid ends, is the earnest prayer of an weak labourer in the work of the gospel in that place, and your servant for Christ's sake,

ALEXANDER TELFAIR.

Edinburgh, Decer. 21, 1695.

A True Relation of an Apparition, Expressions, and Actings of a Spirit, which infested the House of Andrew Mackie, in Ring-Croft of Stocking, in the Paroch of Rerrick, in the Stewarty of Kirkcudbright, in Scotland.

WHEREAS many are desirous to know the truth of the matter, as to the evil spirit and its actings, that troubleth the family of Andrew Mackie, in Ring-Croft of Stocking, &c., and are lyable to be mis-informed, as I do find by the reports that come to my own ears of that matter ; therefore, that satisfaction may be given, and such mistakes may be cured or prevented, I, the minister of the said paroch, (who was present several times, and was witness to many of its actings, and have heard an account of the whole of its methods and actings from the persons present, towards whom, and before whom it did act), have given the ensuing and short account of the whole matter, which I can attest to be the very truth as to that affair ; and before I come to the Relation it self, I premise these things with respect to what might have been the occasion and rise of that spirit's appearing and acting.

1. The said Andrew Mackie being a meason to his employment, 'tis given out, that when he took the meason-word, he devoted his first child to the Devil ; but I am certainly informed he never took the same, and knows not what that word is. He is outwardly moral ; there is nothing known to his life and conversation, but honest, civil, and harmless, beyond many of his neighbours ; doth delight in the company of the best ; and when he was under the trouble of that evil spirit, did pray to the great satisfaction of many. As for his wife and children, none have imputed any thing to them as the rise of it, nor is there any ground, for ought I know, for any to do so.

2. Whereas its given out that a woman, *sub malâ famâ*, did leave some cloaths in that house, in the custody of the said Andrew Mackie, and died before they were given up to her, and he or his wife should have kept some of them back from her friends. I did seriously pose both him and his wife upon the matter ; they declared they knew not what things were left, being bound up in a sack, but did deliver entirely to her freinds all they received from the woman, which I am apt to believe.

3. Whereas one Macknaught, who sometimes before possessed that house, did not thrive in his own person or goods. It seems he had sent his son to a witch-wife, who lived then at the Routing-bridge, in the paroch of Iron-gray, to enquire what

might be the cause of the decay of his person and goods. The youth, meeting with some forreign souldiers, went abroad to Flanders, and did not return with an answer. Some years after, there was one John Redick in this paroch, who, having had occasion to go abroad, met with the said young Macknaught in Flanders, and they knowing other, Macknaught enquired after his father and other friends; and finding the said John Redick was to go home, desired him to go to his father, or who ever dwelt in the Ring-croft, and desire them to raise the door-threshold, and search till they found a tooth, and burn it, for none who dwelt in that house would thrive till that was done. The said John Redick coming home, and finding the old man Macknaught dead, and his wife out of that place, did never mention the matter, nor further mind it, till this trouble was in Andrew Mackie's family, then he spoke of it, and told the matter to myself. Betwixt Macknaught's death, and Andrew Mackie's possession of this house, there was one Thomas Telfair, who possest it some years; what way he heard the report of what the witch-wife had said to Macknaught's son, I cannot tell; but he searched the door-threshold, and found something like a tooth; did compare it with the tooth of man, horse, nolt, and sheep, (as he said to me), but could not say which it did resemble, only it did resemble a tooth. He did cast it in the fire, where it burnt like a candle, or so much tallow; yet he never knew any trouble about that house by night or by day, before or after, during his possession. These things premised being suspected to have been the occasion of the trouble, and there being no more known as to them, than what is now declared, I do think the matter still unknown, what may have given an arise thereto. But leaving this I subjoin the matter as follows.

In the moneth of February, 1695, the said Andrew Mackie had some young beasts, which in the night-time were still loosed, and their bindings broken; he taking it to be the unrulyness of the beasts, did make stronger and stronger bindings of withes and other things; but still all were broken. At last he suspected it to be some other thing, whereupon he removed them out of that place; and the first night thereafter, one of them was bound with a hair-tedder to the balk of the house, so strait that the feet of the beast only touched the ground, but could not move no way else, yet it sustained no hurt. An other night, when the family were all sleeping, there was the full of an back-creel of peets set together in midst of the house-floor, and fire put in them; the smoak wakened the family, otherwise the house had been burnt; yet nothing all the while was either seen or heard.

Upon the 7th of March, there were stones thrown in the house in all the places of it; but it could not be discovered from whence they came, what, or who threw them. After this manner it continued till the Sabbath, now and then throwing both in the night and day; but was busiest throwing in the night-time.

Upon Saturday, the family being all without, the children coming in saw something, which they thought to be a body sitting by the fire-side, with a blanket (or cloath) about it, whereat they were affraid. The youngest, being a boy about nine or ten years of age, did chide the rest, saying, why are you fear'd? let us saine (or bless) our selves, and then there is no ground to fear't. He perceived the blanket to be his, and

saining (or blessing) himself, ran and pulled the blanket from it, saying, "Be what it will, it hath nothing to do with my blanket;" and then they found it to be a four footed stool set upon the end, and the blanket cast over it.

Upon the Sabbath, being the 11th of March, the crook and pot-clips were taken away, and were awanting four days, and were found at last on a loft, where they had been sought several times before. This is attested by Charles Macklelane of Colline, and John Cairns in Hardhills. It was observed, that the stones which hit any person had not half their natural weight; and the throwing was more frequent on the Sabbath than at other times; and especially in time of prayer, above all other times, it was busiest, then throwing most at the person praying. The said Andrew Mackie told the matter to me upon Sabbath after sermon. Upon the Tuesday thereafter I went to the house, did stay a considerable time with them, and prayed twice, and there was no trouble. Then I came out with a resolution to leave the house, and as I was standing speaking to some men at the barn end, I saw two little stones drop down on the croft at a little distance from me; and then immediately some came crying out of the house, that it was become as ill as ever within; whereupon I went into the house again, and as I was at prayer, it threw several stones at me, but they did no hurt, being very small; and after there was no more trouble till the 18th day of March, and then it began as before, and threw more frequently greater stones, whose strokes were sorer where they hit; and thus it continued to the 21st. Then I went to the house, and stayed a great part of the night, but was greatly troubled; stones and several other things were thrown at me; I was struck several times on the sides and shoulders very sharply with a great staff, so that those who were present heard the noise of the strokes. That night it threw off the bed-side, and rapped upon the chests and boards, as one calling for access. This is attested by Charles Macklelane of Colline, William Mackminn, and John Tait in Torr. That night, as I was once at prayer, leaning on a bed-side, I felt something pressing up my arme; I casting my eyes thither, perceived a little white hand and arm, from the elbow down, but presently it vanished. It is to be observed, that, notwithstanding of all that was felt and heard, from the first to the last of this matter, there was never any thing seen, except that hand I saw; and a friend of the said Andrew Mackie's said, he saw as it were a young man, red faced, with yellow hair, looking in at the window; and other two or three persons, with the said Andrew his children, saw, at several times, as it were a young boy about the age of fourteen years, with gray cloths, and a bonnet on his head, but presently disappeared; as also what the three children saw sitting by the fire-side.

Upon the 22d the trouble still increased, both against the family, and against the neighbours who came to visite them, by throwing stones, and beating them with staves; so that some were forced to leave the house before their inclination. This is attested by Charles Macklelane of Colline, and Andrew Tait in Torr. Some it would have met as they came to the house, and stoned with stones about the yards, and in like manner stoned as they went from the house; of whom Thomas Telfair in Stocking was one. It made a little wound on the said Andrew Mackie's brow; did thrust

several times at his shoulder, he not regarding ; at last it gripped him so by the hair, that he thought something like nails of fingers scratched his skin. It dragged several up and down the house by the cloaths. This is attested by Andrew Tait. It gripped one John Keige, miller in Auchincairn, so by the side, that he intreated his neighbours to help, and cried it would rive the side from him. That night it lifted the cloaths off the children as they were sleeping in bed, and beat them on the hipps as if it had been with one's hand, so that all who were in the house heard it. The door-barr and other things would go thorow the house, as if a person had been carrying them in their hand, yet nothing seen doing it. This is attested by John Telfair in Achinleck, and others. It rattled on the chests and bed-sides with a staff, and made a great noise ; and thus it continued by throwing stones, stricking with staves, and rattling in the house, till the 2d of April. At night it cried Wisht, wisht, at every sentence in the close of prayer ; and it whistled so distinctly, that the dog barked, and ran to the door, as if one had been calling to hound him.

Aprile 3d, it whistled several times, and cried Wisht, wisht. This is attested by Andrew Tait. Upon the 4th of Aprile, Charles Macklelane of Colline, landlord, with the said Andrew Mackie, went to a certain number of ministers met at Buttle, and gave them an account of the matter, whereupon these ministers made publick prayers for the family ; and two of their number, viz. Mr Andrew Æwart, minister of Kells, and Mr John Murdo, minister of Corsmichael, came to the house, and spent that night in fasting and praying ; but it was very cruel against them, especially by throwing great stones, some of them about half an stone weight. It wounded Mr Andrew Æwart twice in the head, to the effusion of his blood ; it pulled off his wigg in time of prayer, and when he was holding out his napkin betwixt his hands, it cast a stone in the napkin, and therewith threw it from him. It gave Mr John Murdo several sore strokes, yet the wounds and bruises received did soon cure. There were none in the house that night escaped from some of its fury and cruelty. That night it threw a frie peet amongst the people ; but did no hurt, it only disturbed them in time of prayer. And also in the dawning, as they rose from prayer, the stones poured down on all who were in the house to their hurt. This is attested by Mr Andrew Æwart, Mr John Murdo, Charles Macklelane, and John Tait.

Upon the 5th of Aprile, it set some thatch-straw in fire which was in the barne-yard. At night, the house being very throng with neighbours, the stones were still thrown down among them. As the said Andrew Mackie his wife went to bring in some peets for the fire, when she came to the door she found a broad stone to shake under her foot, which she never knew to be loose before ; she resolved with herself to see what was beneath it in the morning thereafter.

Upon the 6th of Aprile, when the house was quiet, she went to the stone, and there found seven small bones, with blood, and some flesh, all closed in a piece of old suddled paper ; the blood was fresh and bright. The sight whereof troubled her, and being affraid, laid all down again, and ran to Colline his house, being an quarter of an mile distant ; but in that time it was worse than ever it was before, by throwing stones

and fire-balls in and about the house ; but the fire as it lighted did evanish. In that time it threw an hot-stone into the bed betwixt the children, which burnt through the bed-cloaths ; and after it was taken out by the man's eldest son, and had lyen on the floor more nor an hour and an half, the said Charles Macklelane of Colline could not hold it in his hand for heat. This is attested be Charles Macklelane. It thrust an staff thorow the wall of the house above the children in the bed, shook it over them, and groaned. When Colline came to the house, he went to prayer before he offered to lift the bones. All the while he was at prayer it was most cruel ; but as soon as he took up the bones the trouble ceased. (This is attested be Charles Macklelane.) He sent them presently to me ; upon sight whereof I went immediately to the house. While I was at prayer, it threw great stones which hitt me, but they did not hurt ; then there was no more trouble that night.

The 7th Aprile, being the Sabbath, it began again and threw stones, and wounded William Macminn, a black-smith, on the head ; it cast a plough-sock at him, and also an trough-stone, upwards of three stone weight, which did fall upon his back, yet he was not hurt thereby. Attested by William Macminn. It set the house twice in fire, yet there was no hurt done, in respect some neighboures were in the house, who helped to quench it. At night in the twilight as John Mackie, the said Andrew Mackie his eldest son, was coming home, near to the house, there was an extraordinary light fell about him, and went before him to the house with a swift motion. That night it continued after its wonted manner.

Aprile 8th. In the morning as Andrew Mackie went down the closs, he found a letter both writen and sealed with blood. It was directed on the back thus : 3 years tho shall haue to repent a net it well, and within was written : Who be to the Cotland Repent and tak warning for the door of hauen ar all Redy bart against the I am sent for a warning to the to flee to god yet trouble shallt this man be for tuesday days a 3 rpent repnent opent scotland or els tow shall. In the middle of the day, the persons alive who lived in that house since it was built, being about twenty-eight years, were conveyned by appointment of the civil magistrate before Colline, myself, and others, and did all touch the bones, in respect there was some suspicion of secret murder committed in the place ; but nothing was found to discover the same.

Upon the 9th of Aprile, the letter and bones were sent to the ministers, who were all occasionally met at Kirkcudbright. They appointed five of their number, viz. Mr John Murdo, Mr James Monteith, Mr John Mackmillan, Mr Samuel Spalding, and Mr William Falconer, with me, to go to the house, and spend so much time in fasting and praying as we were able.

Upon the 10th of Aprile, we went to the house, and no sooner did I begin to open my mouth, but it threw stones at me, and all within the house, but still worst at him who was at duty. It came often with such force upon the house, that it made all the house shake ; it brake an hole thorow the timber and thatch of the house, and poured in great stones, one whereof, more then an quarter weight, fell upon Mr James Monteith his back, yet he was not hurt. It threw an other with great force at him when

he was praying, bigger than a man's fist, which hitt him on the breast, yet he was neither hurt nor moved thereby. It was thought fit that one of our number, with an other person, should go by turnes and stand under the hole in the outside, so there was no more trouble from that place ; but the barne being joyned to the end of the house, it brake down the barne-door and mid-wall, and threw stones up the house, but did no great hurt. It gripped and handled the legs of some, as with a man's hand ; it hoised up the feet of others while standing on the ground ; thus it did to William Lennox of Mill-house, myself, and others. In this manner it continued till ten a clock at night ; but after that there was no more trouble while we were about the house. This is attested by Mrs James Monteith, John Murdo, Samuel Spalding, Mr Falconer, William Lennox, and John Tait. The 11th, 12th, 13th, it was worse then ever it was before, for not any who came into the house did escape heavy strocks. There was one Andrew Tait in Torr, as he was coming to stay with the familie all night, by the way his dog catched a thulmard, when he came in he cast it by in the house ; thereafter there were other three young men who came in also, and when they were all at prayer the evil spirit beat them with the dead thulmard, and threw it before them. The three who knew it not to be in the house were greatly affrighted, especially one Samuel Thomson, a chapman, whom it also gripped by the side and back, and thrust as if it had been an hand beneath his cloaths, and into his pockets ; he was so affrighted that he took sickness immediately. This is attested by Andrew Tait.

The 14th, being the Sabbath, it set some straw in fire that was in the barn-yard, and threw stones while ten a clock at night ; it threw an dike-spade at the said Andrew Mackie, with the mouth toward him ; but he received no hurt. While an meal-sive was tossed up and down the house, the said Andrew Mackie takes hold of it, and as it were with difficulty gets the grip keeped ; at last all within the rim is torn out. Thereafter it threw an handful of the sive rolled together at Thomas Robertson in Airds, who was witness to this ; yet in all thir actings there was never any thing seen but what I mentioned before.

Upon the 15th Aprile, William Anderson, a drover, and James Paterson, his son-in-law, came to the house with Colline in the evening. Colline going home a while within night, the said Andrew Mackie sent his sones to convoy him ; as they returned they were cruelly stoned, and the stones rolled amongst their legs, like to break them. Shortly after they came in, it wounded William Anderson on the head, to the great effusion of his blood. In time of prayer it whisled, groaned, and cryed Whisht, whisht. This is attested by John Cairnes.

The 16th, it continued whisting, groaning, whisling, and throwing stones in time of prayer ; it cryed Bo, bo, and Kick, cuck, and shoke men back and foreward, and hoised them up as if it would lift them off their knees. This is attested by Andrew Tait.

The whole family went from the house, and left five honest neighbours to wait on the same all night ; but there was no hurt done to them, nor the family where they were, nor to those neighbours who stayed in the said Andrew Mackie his house ; only

the cattle were cast over other to the hazard of killing them, as they were bound to the stakes, and some of them were loosed. This is attested by John Cairnes.

Upon the 18th they returned to their house again, and there was no hurt done to them nor their cattle that night, except in a little house where there were some sheep; it coupled them together in paires by the neck with straw ropes, made of an bottle of straw, which it took off an loft in the stable, and carryed to the sheep-house, which is three or four pair of butts distant, and it made more ropes than it needed for binding the sheep, which it left beside the straw in the sheep-house. This is attested by Andrew Tait.

Upon the 19th it fired the straw in the barn; but Andrew Mackie put it out (being there threshing) without doing any hurt. It shut staves thorow the wall at him, but did no hurt.

The 20th, it continued throwing stones, whisling and whisting, with all its former words. When it hit any person, and said, Take you that till you get more, that person was sure immediately of an other; but when it said, Take you that, the person got no more for a while. This is attested by John Tait.

The 21st, 22d, 23d, it contained casting stones, beating with staves, and throwing peet-mud in the faces of all in the house, especially in time of prayer, with all its former tricks.

The 24th being a day of humiliation appointed to be kept in the parish for that cause, all that day, from morning to night, it contained, in a most fearfull manner without intermission, throwing stones with such cruelty and force, that all in the house feared lest they should be killed.

The 25th, it threw stones all night, but did no great hurt.

The 26th, it threw stones in the evening, and knocked on a chist several times, as one to have access; and began to speak, and call those who were sitting in the house witches and rukes, and said it would take them to hell. The people then in the house said among themselves, if it had any to speak to it, now it would speak. In the mean time Andrew Mackie was sleeping. They wakened him, and then he hearing it say, "Thou shalt be troubled till Tuesday," asked, "Who gave thee a commission?" To whom it answered, "God gave me a commission; and I am sent to warn the land to repent; for a judgement is to come, if the land do not quickly repent, and commanded him to reveal it upon his perrill; and if the land did not repent, it said it would go to its father, and get a commission to return with an hundred worse than itself, and would trouble every particular family in the land." Andrew Mackie said to those who were with him, "If I should tell this, I would not be believed." Then it said, "Fetch betters; fetch the minister of the paroch, and two honest men upon Tuesday's night, and I shall declare before them what I have to say." Then it said, "Praise me, and I will whistle to you; worship me, and I will trouble you no more." Then Andrew Mackie said, "The Lord, who delivered the three children out of the fiery furnace, deliver me, and mine this night from the temptations of Satan." Then it replied, "You might as well have said, Shadrach, Meshah, and Abednego." In the mean time, while Andrew Mac-

kie was speaking, there was one James Telfair in Buttle, who was adding a word, to whom it said, "You are basely bred, meddling in other men's discourse, wherein you are not concerned." It likewise said, "Remove your goods, for I will burn the house." He answered, "The Lord stop Satan's fury, and hinder him of his designs." Then it said, "I will do it, or you shall guide well." All this is attested by John Tait in Torr, and several others who cannot subscribe.

Upon the 27th it set the house seven times in fire. The 28th being the Sabbath, from sun-rising to sun-setting, it still set the house in fire; as it was quenched in one part, instantly it was fired in an other; and in the evening, when it could not get its designs fulfilled in burning the house, it pulled down the end of the house, all the stone-work thereof, so that they could not abide in it any longer, but went and kindled their fire in the stable.

Upon the Sabbath night, it pulled one of the children out of the bed, gripping him, as he thought, by the craig and shoulders; and took up the block of a tree, as great as a plough-head, and held it above the children, saying, "If I had a commission I would brain them;" thus it expressed itself in the hearing of all who were in the house. Attested by William Mackminn and John Corsby.

The 29th being Munday, it continued setting fire in the house. The said Andrew Mackie finding the house so frequently set in fire, and being weary quenching it, he went and put out all the fire that was about the house, and poured water upon the hearth; yet after it fired the house several times, when there was no fire within an quarter of an mile of the house. This is attested by Charles Macklelane and John Cairnes. In the midst of the day, as Andrew Mackie was threshing in the barne, it whispered in the wall, and then cryed "Andrew, Andrew," but he gave no answer to it. Then with an auster, angry voice, as it were, it said, "Speak;" yet he gave no answer. Then it said, "Be not troubled, you shall have no more trouble, except some casting of stones upon the Twesday to fulfill the promise;" and said, "Take away your straw." I went to the house about eleven a clock; it fired the house once after I went there. I stayed all night till betwixt three and four in the Twesday's morning, dureing which time there was no trouble about the house, except two little stones dropped down at the fire-side, as we were sitting down at our first entry. A little after I went away, it began to throw stones as formerly. This is attested by Charles Macklelane and John Tait.

Upon Tuesday's night, being the 30th of April, Charles Macklelane of Colline, with several neighbours, were in the barne. As he was at prayer he observed a black thing in the corner of the barne, and it did increase, as if it would fill the whole house. He could not discern it to have any form, but as if it had been a black cloud; it was affrighting to them all; and then it threw bear-chaff, and other mud upon their faces; and after did grip severals who were in the house by the middle of the body, by the arms and other parts of their bodies so strait, that some said, for five days thereafter they thought they felt these gripps. After an hour or two of the night was thus past, there was no more trouble. This is attested by Charles Macklelane, Thomas Mackminn, Andrew Paline, John Cairns, and John Tait.

Upon Wednesday's night, being the 1st of May, it fired a little sheep-house ; the sheep were got out safe, but the sheep-house was wholly burnt. Since there hath not been any trouble about the house by night nor by day. Now all things aforesaid being of undoubted verity, therefore I conclude with that of the Apostle, 1 Pet. v. 8, 9. " Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour : Whom resist, stedfast in the faith."

This Relation is attested, as to what they particularly saw, heard, and felt, by

Mr ANDREW ÆWART, Minister at Kells.
Mr JAMES MONTEITH, Minister at Borg.
Mr JOHN MURDO, Minister at Corsmichael.
Mr SAMUEL SPALDING, Minister at Partan.
Mr WILLIAM FALCONER, Minister at Keltoun.
CHARLES MACKLELANE of Colline.
WILLIAM LENNOX of Millhouse.
ANDREW TAIT in Torr.
JOHN TAIT in Torr.
JOHN CAIRNS in Hardhills.
WILLIAM MACKMINN.
JOHN CORSBY.
THOMAS MACKMINN.
ANDREW PALINE, &c.

THE END.

EDINBURGH :

Printed by James Ballantyne and Co.



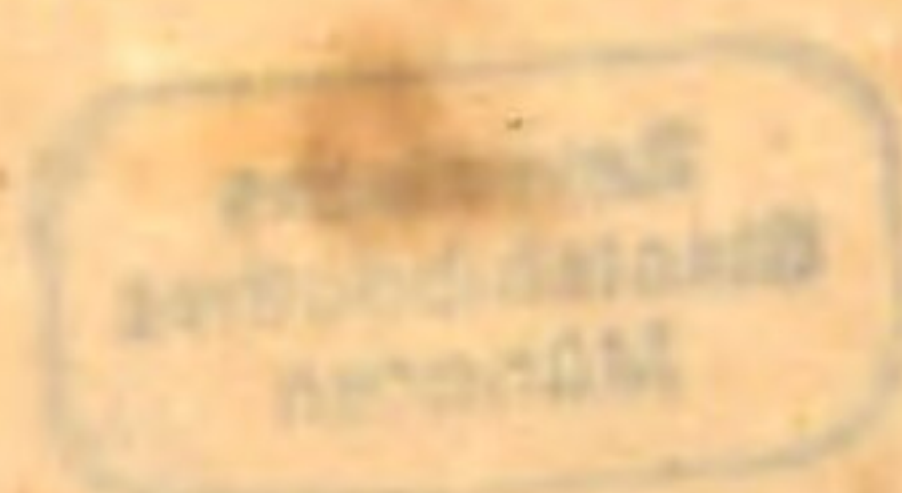
From the Journal of the American Medical Association, published weekly, except on Sundays and holidays, at 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610. Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 2, 1917, under Post Office No. 383, at Chicago, Ill., under Act of October 3, 1917. Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 1, 1968. Postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes in Chicago, Ill., to The Journal of the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610. Outside Chicago, Ill., to The Journal of the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes in Chicago, Ill., to The Journal of the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610. Outside Chicago, Ill., to The Journal of the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610.

THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

Published weekly, except on Sundays and holidays, at 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610. Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 2, 1917, under Post Office No. 383, at Chicago, Ill., under Act of October 3, 1917. Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 1, 1968. Postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes in Chicago, Ill., to The Journal of the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610. Outside Chicago, Ill., to The Journal of the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610.

THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

Published weekly, except on Sundays and holidays, at 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610. Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 2, 1917, under Post Office No. 383, at Chicago, Ill., under Act of October 3, 1917. Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 1, 1968. Postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes in Chicago, Ill., to The Journal of the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610. Outside Chicago, Ill., to The Journal of the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610.





GEARBEITET NACH
QUALITÄTSNORM
RALRG
495



Buchbinderei
Seb. Simmel & Sohn
München

Law, Robert

Memorials, or the memorable things that fell out within this island of
Britain from 1638 - 1684

Edinburgh 1818

4 Brit. 63 s

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10225213-5